

JPRS 75680

12 May 1980

# Sub-Saharan Africa Report

No. 2246



FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

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12 May 1980

## SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA REPORT

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SENGHOR NOT THREATENED BY MARXISTS WHILE THEY ARE DISUNITED

Dakar LE SOLEIL in French 22-23 Mar 80 pp 1, 3

[Article by Babacar Sine: "The Odyssey of the PAI" [African Independence Party]]

[Text] The recent questioning of a number of members and leaders of the so-called "illegal" PAI (there are two!) has incidentally brought that party into current national political headlines (see LE SOLEIL, Thursday, 19 March).

Furthermore, it is a pure coincidence if our remarks today have as their subject the Marxist version of Senegalese socialism, of which that political grouping is undeniably the historical inspiration, the driving force and the principal embodiment.

It was formed in Thies in September 1957 and from the very beginning, its manifesto has openly claimed kinship with Marxism-Leninism. Only recently, on the occasion of its 20th anniversary, it reaffirmed: "In the southern Sahara, outside of the South African Communist Party, the PAI was the first African party to be openly Marxist-Leninist.<sup>1</sup> A year before, in September 1956, to be exact, at a secret meeting held in Bissau, a few kilometers from Senegal, another African independence party was formed, but this time from Guinea and Cape Verde (PAIGC). In both cases, a small group essentially made up of former students was the base, but the respective destinies of these two organizations are extremely different, even though from the very outset, both affirmed their determination to mobilize the people's forces in order to win national independence.

Paradoxically enough, the PAI-Senegal, which has an advanced ideological platform, Marxism-Leninism, has not yet chalked up decisive victories. It is indeed a long march! But the fact is that for the time being, one has to admit that this party has not consistently led the national liberation struggle in Senegal, perhaps for certain reasons to which we shall return.

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<sup>1</sup> Ref. Ci Kanam. Theoretical and political organ of the Belgian section of the party, Anniversary Special.

On the other hand, the situation of the PAIGC is quite different. This party never "openly declared kinship with Marxism-Leninism," but has consistently led the armed national liberation struggle in Guinea and the Cape Verde islands. Above all, it has demonstrated admirable revolutionary mastery in the organization and direction of the people's anti-imperialist forces, distinguishing itself by its unity and its organizational and ideological homogeneity.

This last quality has been cruelly lacking in the historical PAI, which is now broken up into several splinter groups: The legal PAI of Majhmout Diop, the so-called "illegal" PAI, the former PCS (Senegalese Communist Party), the Democratic League, the Marxist Xarebi Group, and so on, all come from it, inasmuch as the history of this Communist Party has been so harshly tested by an almost cyclical succession of splits and dissidence, which has finally weakened and exhausted it. Examples: The first serious crisis came in 1963 in the course of the 23d plenary session of its Central Committee, with the ouster, under circumstances never made clear, of the former secretary general and influential founding leaders. In 1964 came the creation of the PCS, which emerged from a split or as the result of the resignation of certain cadres. In 1967, Secretary General Majemout Diop was expelled. In 1972-1973, the breakup of the party was expressed by the founding of the Democratic League by members and leaders mainly from the MEPAI [Student Movement of the African Independence Party] or the trade unions, mainly the teachers union. Since that time, the so-called "legal" PAI has appeared, set up following defections of persons rallying around former Secretary General Majemout Diop.

But what is the reason for this particularly striking organizational instability? The party has never supplied a satisfactory response to this serious and painful question for lack of a rigorous self-critical look at its own experience. The vicissitudes of a long underground life since its dissolution in 1960 after the events in Saint Louis partially explain the difficulties encountered. Objectively speaking, the party has never had time to consolidate its structures, a task that is easier to complete with legal status. Unfortunately, it enjoyed that status for only 3 years!

Likewise, in order to understand its structural fragility -- which could more properly be called its Achilles' heel, perhaps -- one must question its mode of establishment, which largely determined its social base and its limits. It was essentially formed from the outside, set up by the action of certain intellectual cadres trained in Marxist circles more or less controlled and oriented by the French Communist Party, such as the language groups of the French Communist Party or the RDA [African Democratic Rally] student group, and so on.<sup>1</sup> These intellectual elements, although very

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<sup>1</sup> The most advanced student groups, politically speaking, around the 1950's or following World War II, were two: 1) GAREP (African Political Research and Study Group), headed by Abdoulaye Ly, who was seconded by Makhtar Mbow and Assane Seck; and 2) the RDA Student Movement, with Cheickh Fall, Youssef Sylla, Cheikh Anta Diop, and so on.



advanced, having spent long periods of time in Europe, never did any patient, lasting work among the rural or proletarian masses, since most were from the colonial petty bourgeoisie. The party proclaimed itself to be the avant-garde of the African proletariat, but was never capable of taking up the tasks that went with the label. Consequently, the Marxist ideology was from the very beginning grafted on to a milieu that was not prepared to receive it, one that was not even known or previously "cleared." In this connection, we are far from the famous investigations into the agricultural world completed by Cabral, in particular, which led to his famous 1953 conclusions contained in the well-known "Speech Against Portuguese Domination."

There is no such thing in the evolution of the PAI-Senegal. Even though its formation was symbolically in the working compound of Thies, it was artificial, the result of self-proclamation, marked by a petty bourgeois bent that was nationalistic rather than truly Marxist. Despite all these limitations, one must recognize that within this historical context of the times (Deferre Framework Law, the commitment of the major African parties: the RDA, the PRA [African Regroupment Party], and so on, to constitutional reformism, and so on), this party was the only one to present the problem of immediate access to independence clearly, straightforwardly and in radical terms. It was also the party that included the most politically determined elements of the African elite, particularly the revolutionary intelligentsia! It was at one and the same time the greatness and the weakness of the party, for this social base (students, intellectuals, civil servants, and so on), by virtue of its dominance, came to be stifling, confining. This perhaps explained why the party, after over 20 years of experience, has difficulty in becoming a real people's force. Proof of this is that the student movement, for example, marked the party heavily from the very beginning. It is symptomatic to note that most of the founders were among those who participated in the drafting of the famous special edition of PRESENCE AFRICAINE, No 14, 1955, entitled "Black Students Speak" (see the resounding article by Majemout Diop, "The Only Way Out: Total Independence; the Only Path: a Broad Movement of Anti-imperialist Unity"). This article, along with the other theoretical political contributions, implicitly contains all the problems from which both the PAI program and its September 1957 manifesto were to emerge. In the evolution of this organization, the student movement has undeniably been the most dynamic wing and it is the student movement that has supplied most of its leaders and at the highest level. In fact, the former leaders of the mass student organizations often became party leaders after graduation. Such a student movement-party relationship can be explained historically: It merely expresses the important role played by the intellectual petty bourgeoisie in national liberation struggles (see the remarkable writings by Cabral on this question). But unfortunately for the PAI, it was never able to provide itself with a proletarian leadership or a leadership shared with the proletarian element, this despite the proclaimed worker bent which unfortunately caused it to pay little attention to the peasants and in short, to fail to undertake any serious political work among the peasant masses, which after all make up the overwhelming majority of the Senegalese people. Here again, the difference between the PAI and the



PAIGC, with respect to its methods, is flagrant. "For 2 years," we are told by Basil Davidson, "Cabral traveled back and forth across his country, acquiring a detailed local knowledge, coming in close contact with life in the villages and very conscientiously preparing for what would come later" (Basil Davidson, "Revolution in Afrique: la Liberation en Guinee Portugaise," Editions Combat/Seuil, p 35).

It should be pointed out that our comparison of the two PAI's, while enlightening, is only of indicative and not absolute value. One must constantly see the lines of difference and specificity that separate the two historic situations in which the two organizations, the PAI and the PAIGC, evolved!

To come back to the question of the social base of the PAI, a document published after the Bamako Congress at the beginning of 1962 and entitled "Party Problems" mentioned the recruitment of 30 percent workers and 20 percent peasants and fishermen, but there is no way of knowing how reliable these statistics are! Even now, in 1980, if this is so, how can one explain the little weight and the little impact which these worker and peasant forces have had on the development of the party? In truth, the PAI did not penetrate the workers trade unions, which long remained controlled by reformist leaders or the dominant government party. The only unions over which it exercised or still exercises influence are the teachers unions (SUEL [Unified Union of Lay Teachers], now SUDES [expansion unknown]) or the student unions, although it no longer controls the latter, which are literally shot through with Maoist and Trotskyite groups.

However, it should be pointed out that between 1966 and 1968-1969, party cadres began to penetrate the worker and trade union circles, particularly the UNTS (National Union of Workers of Senegal), which partially explains the intensity of the trade union struggles in 1968 and their radical nature. Nevertheless, the predominance of petty bourgeois elements (cadres, civil servants and intellectuals) characterizes the development of the party. Moreover, this was recognized by the party in an issue of MOMSAREW, the central party organ, as if it were a self-criticism: "The predominance of petty bourgeois elements in the party," one reads, "principally at the level of conceptual and leadership bodies, resulted in a schematic approach to questions." Is this schematic approach gone today, when one knows the worker orientation -- without any worker base -- which the party is endeavoring to manifest and when one knows the sectarianism characterizing it in the search for solutions to problems of democratic alliance?

It would appear that the party has difficulty getting rid of its own unwieldiness inherited from the past (the same frameworks of analysis, the same methods and the same style of leadership). To date, it had done nothing but rework things rejecting any radical questioning of the type of organization it was or of the type of operation it was reproducing.

The party's program is always articulated around two major ideas: 1) national independence and the establishment of a democratic Senegalese society

(this is the minimum program); and 2) the establishment of scientific socialism in Senegal (maximum program). On the international level, outside of the party's affirmation of and commitment to national liberation and anti-imperialist movements in Africa, it is resolutely and "on the whole" on the side of the Soviet Union's positions.

The party has to renew its programmatic demands in the light of new factors in Senegal. It must make clear and precise proposals in order to bring the country out of the maze of the world economic crisis that is even affecting the countries in the "socialist camp." But for the time being, the historical PAI has survived. It is facing two types of major difficulties:

1 -- The question of the two PAI's: one legal, the other semi-underground, is confusing the issue and disarms the so-called average Senegalese, who is often little inclined to make the necessary distinction. Majemout Diop succeeded in recovering the party's moral patrimony and his congress last year was a success. He seems to have a greater hold over certain strata of the people. Perhaps this could be due to the undeniable popularity of the historical leader? He also has a great deal of responsibility for the recent declines of the party. When will he make his own broad self-critique leading to greater freedom?

2 -- The accumulated disputes, whether ideological, personal or other, do not further but rather, complicate the unity of Senegalese Marxists, a unity that remains an absolute precondition for the unity of progressive and socialist forces. This Marxist unity has great difficulty in coming to fruition!

Whatever the case, until this question is settled and laid to rest, Senghor can sleep!

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CSO: 4400

IVORIAN, CAMEROONIAN, SENEGALESE DEPUTIES COMPARED

Dakar AFRICA in French Mar 80 pp 31-33

[Text] He is handsome (who could doubt it?) when he stands there in full dress, with the colors of his country on a diagonal strip across his chest, and around his neck the decorative insignia of some national order. In his lapel, a discreet boutonniere.

He is quite impressive seated in the back of a dark limousine, and even more so when an attendant springs to action to open the door for him and an usher precedes him, like the bearer of the crozier, candle and incense.

Now a change of scene. We find him elsewhere, though equally impressive, in a forest clearing where a speaker's rostrum has been hastily erected and whence the member of Parliament will harangue a 100, 1,000, 5,000 persons feeling all the more at ease in using his native dialect in speaking to them, since the foreign tongue which often embarrasses him in the Assembly is not suitable among the illiterate people of his constituency.

He rises and the drums roll out an introduction for him. He has not yet said a word, but the drums speak for him. He signals for silence and then can begin: "My friends!..." He has not even begun his greetings when another voice cries out, echoing him: "My friends!..." It is the herald who repeats the words of the great of the land.

This is a childhood dream come true. A game he had often played as a child, of having "a word bearer" at his side, one who, pleasantly, he would designate as "my slave" for a whole week, but ready to play the role of "word-bearer" himself, and then to defend himself, laughing, "Never a slave, me always a warrior...."

Childhood was only yesterday. But now the time for playing is over and faced with the reality of life, one has become important: His Honor, the Deputy.

The concept was acquired with the transfer of colonial customs. It was unknown in Africa; the assemblies were simpler and more limited, in fact. Before these bodies, one spoke for the family, for the clan...for just a

few. Some usurpers of rights dared to pretend that they argued on behalf of the great, dispersed family: the whole tribe. And then one heard, "Me, a deputy, I speak for the region...I represent a region, constituency made up of diverse ethnic groups, classes, and castes. I represent both the Foulah and the Malinké, both the blacksmith and the "guer" [a light-skinned tribe on the Mali frontier]. What a reversal! What a revolution! What an impossible, shattering mission! In a limited council, I should have foulah, a troucouleur, a bambara as well as a weaver and a goldsmith...each of them speaking to me so that I should know them all. Yet I am supposed to have an innate knowledge of all their problems, to have an infallible sense of perceiving what their innermost troubles are."

The truth is that His Honor the deputy in actuality has no counsellors around him, nor even a secretariat made up of investigators and writers. There are only partisans, henchmen, if you like, and an escort of applauding people. However, our deputy is supposed to have innate knowledge, to the extent that his functions require it. At the present time, there are 15 to 20 ministers, each entrusted with a special field. That is quite normal, but the deputy, whose duty it is to supervise the ministers and to draw up the laws in the public health field, as well as education and public works, very naively becomes in the public eye the man who knows and does it all.

Such a splendid image is accompanied by another, no less demanding and one which is the bookish legacy of French, English and American history: the deputy is a revolutionary hero who chops off the heads of tyrants or overturns empires after succinctly expressing people's instinctive yearning for freedom.

It is a lot for just one man. Yet that is not the whole story, at least not in Africa where the civic equation is one man: one vote. The concept of one vote plus one vote plus one vote equals a deputy is not yet clearly established in people's minds.

In Africa, the operation is widely associated with magic. Not even the direct involvement of the "ins" in the nominal elections can actually be perceived in its reality as an excess, an abuse. The rural worker who went to applaud the speeches and see the tam-tam dance has difficulty in establishing the connection between the little prefabricated bits of paper put into circulation on a certain date and his own participation in electing Mr X. Mr X fell from on high: either the powers that be or else God sent him. And what difference does it make if only yesterday he was little So-and-So, whose humble merits people either mocked or praised. This sudden transport in a limousine and his climb to the heights are all part of a magical act, a sort of sacrament of eminence which goes to establish the deputy's splendor.

But there is also the other side of the medal. It is a little like the case of the marquise, quoted in song, who when phoning her valet long distance, progressively learns that she has nothing left, is ruined, the chateau stripped clean, no timber left in the oak plantations, no dogs in the kennels or husband in her bed. In fact not even the bed.

The deputy (certainly not everyone, always, but some, sometimes) when questioned or doing the questioning in the Assembly, learns he knows nothing about his constituency or the amount of millet produced, the tonnage of "inhame" or of peanuts, the number of horned beasts, the degree of indebtedness of the people. Others must teach him, publicly, and the deputy has to shamefacedly acknowledge that he did not prepare well for the debate. And the deputy will not be able to recover the esteem of his peers, nor even his own self-confidence, even if he tries to strut about and show off again.

And then, His Honor the deputy, former planter or businessman or teacher, poorly trained to dance to two different tunes at the same time, finds himself caught in a web of contradictions which, when accumulated, serve to tear him down, to slash at him like a surgeon's knife, so that he doesn't even know what or who he is. Listen instead:

The deputy leaves a reception, at the palace or an embassy, where he picked fussily on caviar and smoked salmon, and returns home to partake heavily of a plate of cous-cous or cep [large, flat mushrooms].

He removes his tie, stiff collar and narrow European belt, and slips into a vast "chaya." What connection can there be between the sigh of ease which escapes from him then and the simpering lips, muttering "Madame Ambassador" only a half-hour ago?

These are just illustrations but very telling ones and as we have stated, in this extreme, surgical. Some are more serious, others less grave, according to one's views there are those that no longer affect psychologies but only reality. His Honor the deputy, who is regarded as wealthy by some, is often no more than a poor, great man, without financial resources or future, sadly threatened by any change of regime. But they don't know about this in his constituency or his family--which believe that he is wealthy and can do anything he wants to do. They think he buy a car for his uncle, put his nephews through school, carry on his shoulders the financial burden of all the illnesses and funerals, open his door to all and generously feed all who are hungry. Relations, whether they be blood or fictitious, arrive and stay. Our friend the Deputy, thinking to play a trick, has only furnished one guest room. But he is soon overwhelmed by all the mats that appear from every direction, his outbuildings becoming in no time huts which must be provided with water and food.

The deputy has no more time for anything, the different "cases" impose on him whenever they choose. He may be called at the office, at home, at the door, at table or even when in bed for help. Two hundred meters away from his home, he hides his face behind a screen--the large screen of some daily, soleil or fraternite. However, it is no use. He has been seen and a wave of people knock at his gate, his walls. His Honor the deputy has become a hunted man. It is no longer a splendid, but rather a miserable existence, he says.



It is now time to end this prefatory passage to introduce this two-sided personage, hero and victim, splendid and pitiful: His Honor, the deputy.

#### Profile of The Deputy from the Ivory Coast

On 16 November 1975, the Ivory Coast took a look at its 4th Legislature, the three preceding ones having been seated as of 27 December 1960, 7 November 1965, and 29 November 1970.

The 120 deputies making up the present National Assembly were elected from a single slate put forward by the PDCI-RDA [Democratic Party of the Ivory Coast/African Democratic Rally], by a total vote of 2,390,566, that is 99.98 percent of the votes cast. The geographic distribution of the candidates represented the demographic importance of the regions. Thus, we have 37 deputies from the South, 17 from the North, 7 from the East, 14 from the West and 42 from the Central region.

It is a young Assembly since, by and large, most of the deputies are about 46 years old. Professionally, it is also very diverse and representative of most active levels of society.

#### Teachers Head the List

There were 31 teachers elected, including professors, inspectors and ordinary teachers. This group, by reason of its size, is well ahead of any other professional category in the Assembly.

Distribution by Professional in the Ivory Coast Assembly

Profession	No	As a Percentage
Teachers	31	25.8
Medical	23	19.1
Civil Administrators	17	14.1
Engineers & High-level Technicians	16	13.3
Planters	9	7.5
Heads of Enterprise	9	7.5
Magistrates & Lawyers	6	5.0
Diplomats	2	1.6
Miscellaneous		9.4
[all figures as published]		

In second place, we have administration, providing 24 deputies of which 17 are civil administrators. They are fairly closely followed by doctors, pharmacists and veterinarians, who, as a group, captured 23 seats, 7 of which went to the pharmacists. This may be regarded as a hierarchical reflection of the profession in which the university professor rubs shoulders



with the village male nurse. Following these three categories, which offer a relatively massive proportion of the representation, come the engineers and other medium- or high-level technicians, totaling 16 deputies. Way behind are the planters--elected to 9 seats--and close behind merchants, with 6 deputies, on a par with the magistrates and lawyers. Then there are 2 career diplomats, 2 entrepreneurs and a banker completing this professional listing.

Numerically, the men dominate the National Assembly, where of the 120 members, only 10 are women, although one is vice-chairman.

As a rule, the Ivory Coast deputy is a parent. In principle, the husband is monogamous and the average couple has 6 children. These figures are rather abstract, reality being more complex.

Most of the Ivory Coast deputies hail from one or the other of the two main religions in the country. Thus 90 Catholics and Protestants are joined by 23 Muslims and 7 followers of Hare Krishna, and other religions. It should nevertheless be noted that not one of these religions weighs politically on the political tendencies of the Ivorian Parliament which come from the PDCI/RDA.

#### Profile of the Deputy from the Cameroon

In the Cameroon, each deputy represents a constituency of approximately 67,000 inhabitants. In other words, there are 120 deputies for a population which, at the present time, numbers more than 8 million individuals.

Just as numerous as their Ivory Coast colleagues, the deputies of the Cameroon also belong to a single party. To be exact, the profile of the Cameroonian deputy closely resembles that of the Senegalese or Ivorian deputy. Like the latter, he wears the boubou or a suit, because often the deputy is a man. At the national assembly braids and loincloths are rare. There are only 7 women deputies.

The Cameroonian deputy is of mature age, 50 as an average: 37.8 percent of the deputies are under 30, 10 percent under 40 and 5 percent over 70.

Like his colleague from West Africa, the deputy from the Cameroon is generally a civil servant (34.4 percent), often a teacher (33 percent) and more rarely a farmer (4.5 percent). The failure to represent the rural area adequately in a country that is 80 percent agricultural must be emphasized. It is true that in the Cameroon, like elsewhere in Africa, the peasant does not engage in politics...or is not able to do so. It must be pointed out, however, that 10 percent of the parliamentarians are traditional chieftains, and therefore people of the soil.

Since there are many religions in the Cameroon, there is no specific religious majority in the Assembly. The deputy, as well as the simple citizen, is either Catholic (38.65 percent), Protestant (13.44 percent), Muslim (31.95 percent) or animist (15.96 percent of the total).

Religious diversity exists therefore, but so does regional diversity. The provinces of the Cameroon are represented in the Assembly in proportion to their demographic preponderance. Thus, the most densely populated province of the country, the North, naturally has the highest representation (31.9 percent of the deputies come from it). Then, by order of importance, the provinces of the West and the South-Center, which together provide 37 percent of the deputies. The sparsely-populated Eastern Province (300,000 inhabitants) is the source of only 3.9 percent of the deputies.

On the religious or regional level, the National Assembly is highly representative of the real Cameroon. However, this does not apply on the social level where women and the farmers would gain by being better represented.

#### Distribution by Profession in the Assembly of the Cameroon

Professions	As a Percentage
Civil servants	34.4
Teachers	33.6
Traditional Chieftains	10.0
Heads of Enterprise	8.4
Medical profession	7.5
Farmers	4.5
Others	3.6
[all figures as published]	

#### Profile of the Senegalese Deputy

In Senegal, there are 100 deputies for a little over 5 million inhabitants, that is one for every 50,000 people.

One hundred individuals seems like quite a large number. Among the deputies, one encounters men of every age group, the young, and women too. Moreover the deputies hail from the most diverse social strata. In the Assembly, the mail nurse rubs elbows with the illustrious professor of medicine, a laborer with an employer, and a secretary with a high civil servant. But whatever his social origin or age, the people regard the deputy as a privileged person.

More often than not, the Senegalese deputy is a man: there are only 7 women in the Assembly. The proportion is established automatically: 7 percent represent a political "head," principally constituted by the male of the species. This highly respectable personage is usually about 50 years old and a Muslim (there are only 9 Christian-Catholics). Yet there are also some young parliamentarians (the youngest, Serigne Diop, a PDS [Senegalese Democratic Party] deputy is only 26). The oldest, the dean, Pierre Senghor, is now 83. It should be noted that the women are younger than their male colleagues (generally 10 years difference, they are on the average 39).

## Prolific

Whether male or female, the deputy is nearly always married. Only three are unmarried: two men and a woman.

Being Muslim, the Senegalese deputy does not encourage monogamy nor does he favor family planning. More than half the married men are polygamous, some of them have the limit of four wives. The Senegalese deputy has a large number of children: 10 on the average. It is not unusual to cross the path of some heroic father of about 20 children as one moves through the halls of the Assembly.

This proud sire of a numerous progeny, before coming to the Assembly was perhaps a civil servant (47 percent) or a teacher (25 percent). Rarely had he headed an enterprise (6 percent) or been to university (3 percent) and even less likely, was a laborer (1 percent). Some 94 percent of the deputies were born outside the capital; 27 percent of them come from the Fleuve region (of which more than 50 percent are from Saint-Louis), 18 percent come from the little villages of Cape Verde, 10 percent from Thiès and the surrounding area, 14 percent from Sine-Saloum, 12 percent from Casamance and 7 percent from the Diourbel region.

## PS and PDS [Socialist Party and Senegalese Democratic Party]

Of the 100 deputies in the National Assembly, 82 belong to the Socialist Party, now in power, and 18 declare themselves to be members of the Senegalese Socialist Party.\*

The profile of the Senegalese Socialist deputy can very readily be confused with that of the whole body. However, one should note that the deputies of the majority party are, for the most part, rather older (51 years old) than those of the PDS.

The Deputies of the Senegalese Democratic Party are, on the average, 41 years old, come from any one of the other regions (only one is from Dakar) and practice the Muslim religion. (There are no Christians among them.)

Women are in the minority in the PDS, but are better represented than in the Socialist Party. They have 4 women out of 18 deputies or more than 20 percent, whereas we know that the general average is only 7 percent.

It should be noted, from the social standpoint, that the PDS deputy generally belongs to the urban middle class. He is a civil servant, often a teacher. Paradoxically, Maitre Wade's party, which lays claim to being a defender of the peasantry, has only two deputies directly associated by their functions with the

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\*Actually, the PDS now has only 16 deputies. One was excluded from the party and another withdrew. Both of them nevertheless retain their seats in the National Assembly.

rural environment. (One is a technical agent for rural engineering and the other an inspector of cooperatives.) Young people are represented by a 26-year-old student.

Finally, it should be observed that the PDS deputy, as a rule, has many children: more than 6 and, in contrast with the general trend, he is monogamous (there are only 5 polygamous deputies).

#### Distribution by Profession in the Senegalese Assembly

Professions	No
Civil Servants	36
Elementary and Secondary Teachers	26
Upper level civil servants and support staffs	11
Liberal professions	10
Heads of enterprise	6
Para-medical profession	3
University students	3
Journalists	2
Secretary	1
Worker (railroad)	1
[all figures as published]	

7129

CSO: 4400

MOZAMBIQUE-TANZANIA INFORMATION COOPERATION VIEWED

Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 10 Apr 80 p 1

[Text] Dar-es-Salaam, 9 April (AIM)--Jorge Rebelo, secretary of the Central Committee of the FRELIMO Party for ideological work, invited Tanzanian journalists to visit Mozambique in order to observe the progress achieved in 5 years of independence and the victorious offensive against the enemy maneuvers, in an address delivered in this city last night.

Jorge Rebelo, who heads a delegation from the RPM's Ministry of Information, spoke at a reception given in his honor by the Tanzanian minister of information and tourism, Isaac Sepetu.

Rebelo said that the Mozambican information system now has a major role to play in the consolidation of the country's economic conquests. The FRELIMO Party's secretary for ideological work suggested that the Tanzanian and Mozambican information services exchange views on the subject of "mobilizing the populace for productive tasks and countering the enemy propaganda against the two countries." Rebelo praised the Tanzanian press for its role in denouncing the British maneuvers throughout the political process for the independence of Zimbabwe.

The former Mozambican minister of information expressed the opinion that there should be an increase in the cooperation between the two countries in the area of information, "for proper publicity in our peoples' struggle for political and economic emancipation and in the struggle in Southern Africa."

The Mozambican delegation has been in the Tanzanian capital since yesterday, to discuss with this country's authorities supplementary aspects of the cooperation in the area of information between the two countries. The Tanzanian minister of information, Isaac Sepetu, recently visited Mozambique for the very same purpose.

Upon his arrival, that member of the party's leadership cited the need for backing from the Front Line countries' news media for their counterparts in Zimbabwe.

2909

CSO: 4401

**LIBYA TO SUPPLY NIGER WITH PETROLEUM PRODUCTS**

Niamey LE SAHEL in French 25 Mar 80 pp 2-3

[Excerpts] Early yesterday afternoon, Lt Col Seyni Kountche, president of the Supreme Military Council and head of state, returned to Niamey following a 3-day visit to the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya.

During his stay, President Kountche met at length with Colonel Qadhdhafi on Sunday in Benghazi, which is located about 1,000 kilometers from Tripoli, the Libyan capital.

During their talk, the two statesmen took up matters of common interest and reviewed the principal international, Arab and African problems.

Concerning Niger-Libyan cooperation in particular, President Kountche and the guide of the Libyan socialist revolution, Colonel Qadhdhafi, agreed that the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya would supply Niger with oil products.

The agreement on this important question was signed yesterday morning, shortly before the departure of the presidential delegation for Niamey. Mai Maigana, minister of economic affairs, commerce and industry, signed for Niger and the secretary (minister) of the People's Committee in Charge of Electricity signed for Libya.

**Exemplary Cooperation**

Before taking up the Chadian problem and his talk with Colonel Qadhdhafi on the subject, President Kountche expressed his satisfaction with the excellent relations between Niger and Libya and the cooperation existing between the two countries. He also thanked Libyan leaders for the warm welcome extended to Niger's delegation during its stay in Benghazi.

"Niger-Libyan cooperation is becoming exemplary in our region," we were told by Minister of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation Daouda Diallo on Saturday, at the close of the first working session of the two delegations.



He said that it deals with specific actions, ranging from the supplying of oil products to Niger by Libya to the startup a year ago of a common bank. This cooperation is also manifested in the field of agriculture, in which the two nations have set up a joint company.

The delegations from the two countries expressed their determination to strengthen and diversify cooperation between the two countries, particularly emphasizing ways and means of developing commercial trade.

#### Commercial Agreements

The opening of this meeting on Niger-Libyan cooperation took place Saturday a few moments after the arrival of the presidential delegation in Tripoli. It was presided over by Lt Col Seyni Kountche in the presence of Maj Abdoussallam Jalloud. The chief of state was accompanied by Mai Maigana, minister of economic affairs, commerce and industry, Daouda Diallo, minister of foreign affairs and cooperation, and the secretary of state for the interior, Abdou Mallam Moussa. Ambassador Boubakar Bello (Tripoli) and Ambassador Issoufou Oumarou also took part in the meeting on behalf of Niger.

Attending the meeting for Libya were, in addition to Maj Abdoussallam Jalloud, Dr Ali Triki, secretary (minister) for foreign affairs and the secretary of the People's Committee in Charge of Electricity.

Upon his arrival in Niamey yesterday, President Kountche enumerated the main subjects on which the meeting centered. In addition to the discussion of these points, the meeting made it possible to sign new commercial agreements between our two countries for the next 2 years and to draw up a report on the circulation of persons between Libya and Niger.

In this connection, President Kountche expressed his regret about the anarchic departure of Nigeriens going to Libya and asked for a census of our fellow countrymen in that country.

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CSO: 4400

## INTER-AFRICAN AFFAIRS

### BRIEFS

GAMBIANS SEIZE SENEGALESE BOATS--According to a dispatch from the SENEGALESE PRESS AGENCY dated yesterday, two Senegalese boats, the "Gaiinde Fatma" and the "Darou Khoudoss," from the fleet of the "Proccoss" were seized by the Gambian Armed Forces on the border of the territorial waters of the two countries. The seizure took place last week. Gambian authorities accuse the boats of fishing in their territorial waters, contrary to statements by the captain of the "Gaiinde Fatma," who claims that he was well within Senegalese territorial waters, off San Pedro Point. Unlike the "Darou Khoudoss," the "Gaiinde Fatma" did not return to Dakar, as Gambian authorities held it along with the director of the shipping company as security for the payment of 22 million CFA francs being demanded as a fine. [Text] [Dakar LE SOLEIL in French 22-23 Mar 80 p 1] 11,464

CSO: 4400

## SOMALIA'S ATTITUDE ON OGADEN, REFUGEES CRITICIZED

Nairobi SUNDAY NATION in English 20 Apr 80 p 6

[Editorial: "Somalia Asked for Refugees"]

[Text]

SOMALIA's Minister for Local Government and Rural Development, Jamma Galib, was in Rome last week and, is so often the case these days with Somali officials, reminded the world that his country has over a half a million refugees.

But that was not really all. Mr. Galib also noted that the number of refugees is increasing at between 1,000 and 2,000 a day and that they are all coming from the Ethiopian province of the Ogaden, which borders Somalia.

There is no doubt that what Mr. Galib was doing by quoting these rather startling figures was to try to drum up support not only for the refugees but also for his country's broader and more dangerous goal of annexing the Ogaden to the Republic of Somalia.

Somalia's annexation of the Ogaden has, for many years — almost 20 now — been the core of its domestic politics. She has gone to war twice to achieve this goal. On both occasions Somali soldiers have lost infamously to the Ethiopians.

Straight political thinking and, indeed common-sense, should have convinced the Somali leaders that annexation of the Ogaden to the People's Democratic Republic of Somalia is an impossibility and that continued claim to the territory will bring Somalia no benefits at all.

But for some reason that no one outside Mogadishu seems to comprehend, the Somali leadership has continued to whip up the Somali people into a frenzy over a territory they will never get. Even if they ever do, it will merely be a pyrrhic victory.

Leaders of any country are entitled to their follies and the Somali's leadership is no exception. There, is however, no moral obligation for other leaders to be party to such foolhardiness.

Somalia has long been whipping up emotions and uprisings in the Ogaden. Now the people of the Ogaden have chosen to go to Somalia. It is, therefore, Somalia's responsibility to take care of them, nobody else's. Somalia does not have any refugees, only her own people.

## BRIEFS

**ATTORNEY GENERAL'S RETIREMENT**--Attorney-General Charles Njonjo, who has quit his post on reaching retirement age, yesterday dismissed rumours that he was seeking the post of Prime Minister. "The Kenya Constitution has no provision for the post of Prime Minister," he told a Press conference. Asked whether he contemplated contesting the post of President of Kenya, he said: "There is no vacancy in the Presidency. We have a young President who is in good health." Mr Njomo announced that he would contest the Kikuyu Parliamentary seat rendered vacant by the resignation of Mr. Amos Ng'ang'a, Assistant Minister for Transport and Communications, on Wednesday. [Excerpt] [Nairobi DAILY NATION in English 19 Apr 80 pp 1, 4]

**NEW ATTORNEY GENERAL**--President Moi has appointed Mr. James Boro Karugu as Attorney-General in place of Mr. Charles Njonjo. Mr. Karugu, 43, was born at Chura Village, Kabete, Kiambu District. He was educated at Mang'u High School and later joined Ohio State University, US, where he obtained a BA in 1962. He later joined Lincoln's Inn, London, where he read law until 1964, when he was called to the bar. Mr. Karugu returned to Kenya the same year and took up employment in the Attorney-General's Chambers. His services there earned him promotion when, in 1967, he was appointed Senior State Council. He became Deputy Public Prosecutor in 1970. [Excerpts] [Nairobi DAILY NATION in English 22 Apr 80 p 1]

**END OF POWER RATIONING**--Power rationing has been lifted. The news that is bound to send a cheer into every Kenyan household and enterprise was announced in a special Press release yesterday by the East African Power and Lighting Co. Ltd. The statement said the decision to lift the power rationing throughout the country was taken in the light of improvements in the dam levels at the Seven Forks. Power rationing had been in force since the turn of the year owing to the drought throughout the country. Yesterday's announcement said although rationing was now ended throughout the country, consumers should nevertheless continue to strictly observe electricity conservation measures, including the restricted use of electricity for office lighting and advertising "as the situation is still delicate." [Excerpts] [Nairobi DAILY NATION in English 22 Apr 80 pp 1, 20]

LIVESTOCK DEVELOPMENT EXPENDITURE--The Government will spend K90 million on livestock development during the 1979-1983 development plan, Livestock Development Minister Jeremiah Nyagah has said. He was addressing graduates at the Animal Health and Industry Training Institute (AHITI), Kabete. Mr. Nyagah said such a large sum of money showed Government's commitment to the development of livestock industry. The Government will improve services in the semi-arid areas aimed at making them major beef-and milk-producing areas. [Excerpt] [Nairobi DAILY NATION in English 21 Apr 80 p 4]

JAPANESE AID TO COLLEGE--The Government has received a Sh. 120 million grant from the Japanese government for the Jomo Kenyatta College of Agriculture and Technology. The Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Higher Education, Mr. J.T. arap Leting announced this in Nairobi at the weekend during the signing ceremony of record of discussions concerning the Japanese technical co-operation for the college. In the record of discussions, it is agreed that Japan will despatch 22 experts and about 16 volunteers every year to collaborate with Kenyans in teaching students at the college. Within the co-operation period from 1980 to 1984, 70 Kenyan experts will be invited to Japan for training and some education equipment will be provided by the Japanese government under its technical co-operation scheme. The new college at Juja is designed to cater for 720 students and is expected to open its doors to students in May 1981, Mr. Leting said. [Excerpts] [Nairobi DAILY NATION in English 21 Apr 80 p 3]

CSO: 4420

## **LIBERIA**

### **MORE THAN 90 OPPOSITION MEMBERS JAILED**

**Dakar LE SOLEIL in French 13 Mar 80 p 8**

[Text] Agitation has taken hold of Liberia's main cities, with the exception of Monrovia, after the appeal for an indefinite general strike to obtain the resignation of President Tolbert made by the opposition Liberian party, the "Progressive People's Party" (PPP).

Numerous arrests were carried out in the main industrial centers of the country and, according to the latest figures given by the minister of justice, Mr Joseph Chesson, more than 90 members of the PPP are presently behind bars.

Among the latest people to be arrested is Mr George Boley, minister in charge of administration at the Ministry of Education. Mr Boley was charged with "treason" and "sedition" for having, according to Mr Chesson, helped the PPP.

If the situation was normal in the streets and principal industrial establishments of Monrovia, demonstrations for the arrested members of the PPP took place in several cities in the countryside.

At Greenville, 250km to the southeast of Monrovia, where a demonstration had been broken up by the police, the local responsible official of the PPP fired at the country superintendent, who was not wounded, announced the minister of justice.

The would-be assassin, Mr T. Dweh Nyenpan, was able to get away and, "if he does not surrender, a warrant will be issued for his capture, dead or alive," the minister added.

Twenty-five persons were arrested following the Greenville demonstration and another 12 in Harper, a port located near the Ivory Coast border. Some incidents also took place in the mining city of Bong about 100km north of Monrovia, while eight laborers who wanted to form a picket line were arrested.

9589

CSO: 4400



## TRAINING, PURPOSE OF PLANNING REPRESENTATIVES REPORTED

Tananarive MADAGASCAR-MATIN in French 25 Mar 80 pp 1, 3

[Text] Yesterday, 24 March 1980, Rakotovo Razakaboana, minister of finance and planning attached to the presidency, presided over the official ceremony marking the beginning of the training program for the future planning representatives serving the fivondronampokontany [union of village associations] organized by the General Planning Directorate.

Remanindry Jaona and Charles Ravaoajanahary, members of the Supreme Council of the Revolution, honored the opening ceremony by their presence and participation.

### Logical Consequence

Within the framework of decentralization of planning, the General Planning Directorate will send planning representatives to the fivondronampokontany in 1980. The move is a logical follow-up to the establishment of Provincial Planning Departments at the level of the faritany [higher administrative unit made up of a village or group of villages].

In order to train them for their new tasks, the future planning representatives serving the fivondronampokontany, 110 in number, will complete a 40-week training period: 20 weeks of theoretical training in Antananarivo and 20 weeks of practical training in their assigned faritany and fivondronampokontany.

The theoretical training will include 420 hours of courses in 13 different subjects dealing with the following: the socialist revolution and national structures; planning instruments; planning and development in Madagascar; financing of planning and development projects; and administrative procedures and practices.

The first group of trainees, numbering 60, began their courses on 17 March 1980 at the Foibe Fiofanana Kristianina (FOFIKRI) in Ankadikely Ilafy, Antananarivo. These future planning representatives were recruited in close cooperation with authorities and elected officials of the faritany

and are natives of the six faritany: Antananarivo, 13; Antsiranana, 6; Fianarantsoa, 15; Mahajanga, 11; Toamasina, 8; and Toliary, 7.

14 April

Recruiting of the second group of 50 trainees is well underway. The second group will begin its theoretical training in Ankadikely Ilafy on 14 April 1980.

Future planning agents with a high school diploma will begin their practical training and go to their assigned fivondronampokontany beginning in August and September 1980.

It should be pointed out that the General Planning Directorate is completing the training of future planning representatives serving the fivondronampokontany with the financial aid of the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) through Project UNDP/ILO MAG-71/534, "Employment, Labor and Statistics."

During the opening ceremony, Minister Rakotovoao Razakaboana was accompanied by his close aides, including Francois d'Assise Indrano, secretary general of finance and planning attached to the presidency; Rajaona Andriamananjara, general director of planning; Frederic Rasamoely, general director of finance; and members of the minister's staff and other officials from the General Planning Directorate. The ceremony was also attended by Elias Cacouris, resident representative of the UNDP, and his assistant, Mohsen Boulares and Abderrezak Benhadji, representing the director of the zone bureau of the ILO in Antananarivo.

The speeches delivered at the ceremony all emphasized the importance of planning and the plan itself, which is the operational translation of the basic options of the Malagasy socialist revolution.

#### Participation

Rajaona Andriamananjara, general director of planning, said that the sending of representatives to the fivondronana is nothing more than the continuation of the establishment of regional planning structures so that within the framework of decentralization, decentralized collectives may be able to participate effectively in the drafting of the plan and supervision of its execution.

Elias Cacouris, resident representative of the United Nations, reiterated the UNDP's determination to participate in every effort of the government aimed at the successful planned development of Madagascar.

Rakotovoao Razakaboana, minister of finance and planning attached to the presidency, recalled that the plan is both the technical instrument for development as well as the ideological basis for the establishment of the new socialist society. New production structures must be in keeping with

the socialist option and give priority to collective structures, while defining sectorial roles and regional roles within the national system.

#### Nine Months

The 110 planning representatives to be trained were chosen with the active cooperation of the six faritany presidents. "You should become completely acquainted with the physical, economic and psychosociological conditions of your native and assigned fivondronana," said Rakotovo Razakaboana. "It is for all these reasons that your training, which will take 9 months, will be both technical and ideological, for ideology without technical knowledge is talk without substance." Rakotovo Razakaboana then thanked the six faritany presidents and the UNDP for their aid.

Charles Ravoajanahary, dean of the Supreme Revolutionary Council, emphasized the role of planning representatives in providing economic and technical advice to people's councils and the executive committees of the fivondronana, whence their need to be technically effective, but above all, aware of their role in the service of the people who are producers. If these planning representatives are not ready to put their knowledge in the service of the people, they they should resign immediately.

Supreme Council member Ramanindry Jaona, who gave the closing address, saw in the meeting of young people from the six faritany who are going to live together for 9 months an image of the national unity that must be preserved. Nor must they let themselves be discouraged by those who say that they are themselves the vanguard. There should be no discrimination, he said. All the Malagasy people are in the vanguard of the revolution and technical knowledge and politics must go hand in hand.

11,464

CSO: 4400

## MINISTRY CALLS FOR CUTBACK IN RICE CONSUMPTION

Tananarive MADAGASCAR-MATIN in French 24 Mar 80 pp 1, 3

[Text] On Saturday, Radio Madagascar reported that the minister of rural development and agrarian reform has recommended that people cut back on their rice consumption.

Minister Simon Pierre, who on Friday presided over the opening session of a seminar organized in Antananarivo by the Malagasy National Committee of the World Campaign Against Hunger, actually suggested that people abstain from eating rice "one day a week," Radio Madagascar said.

RTM [Malagasy Radio-Television] also reported that Simon Pierre explained that such a restriction would result in a savings of 250,000 tons of rice a year. Madagascar now imports 150,000 tons a rice every year to make up for its shortage.

Simon Pierre also revealed that the Malagasy people are among the world's biggest rice eaters: 12 to 13 kilograms per month per person, compared with 8.7 kilograms in China and 3 kilograms in Cuba.

In Madagascar, the rural development official said, areas planted in rice total 1.3 million hectares and annual production is on the order of 2.255,000 tons for a total population of 8.5 million people.

### Current Rate

By the year 2000 -- 20 years -- the population will be 16 million, the minister estimated, and he added: "Therefore, at the current rate of growth in productivity and consumption, it would be absolutely necessary to double the area planted in rice, meaning an addition 1 million hectares."

However, in 5 years, since 1975, the year when the Revolutionary Government stepped up the "Rice Battle," only 25,000 more hectares have been planted in rice. That is why in January 1979, President Didier Ratsiraka launched the "100,000-Hectare Operation," Simon Pierre said, an operation in the hands of the People's Armed Forces. In addition, the "20-Hectare Operation" would be carried out each year by every fihaisana (equivalent of the canton; the country has 1,250).

"However, these operations will not make it possible to reach the objective of 1 million hectares of new rice plantations until the year 2040," said Simon Pierre, and he added: "Madagascar is a country blessed by God, because it has a variety of products in abundance from both the tropical and moderate regions.

"The restriction on rice consumption and encouragement to replace it with other food products would help to solve our problems" the minister concluded.

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CSO: 4400

**BUDGET REPORTED BALANCED; OFFICERS WARNED ON WASTE**

**President Praised**

Blantyre DAILY TIMES in English 25 Mar 80 p 1

[Text] Malawi had been able to balance her recurrent budget, despite adverse inflationary trends which had crippled world economies, because of the wisdom, foresight and guidance of His Excellency the Life President, Ngwazi Dr. H. Kamuzu Banda, the Member for Lilongwe Centre, Mr. Chinsamba Kwenda, told Parliament today.

The Member was addressing Parliament, which resumed sitting today after the week-end recess. His address opened the House Members' contributions in support of the Budget Speech delivered here on Friday afternoon by the Minister of Finance, Mr. Louis Chimango.

Mr. Chinsamba Kwenda, citing inflation as the main factor that made the country start to experience a break in economic buoyancy previously enjoyed, pointed out: "The unfavourable economic situation experienced last year has affected our budget and had it not been for the wise guidance of the Ngwazi, we should not have been where we are now."

He hailed Life President for giving Malawi a strong agro-based economic backbone that had withstood inflationary strains which had crippled other economies. Noting with pleasure that Malawi had balanced her recurrent budget with a modest surplus of K700,000, Mr. Chinsamba Kwenda urged people this country to leave no stone unturned in helping the Ngwazi revitalise Malawi's economy.

Besides properly managing the country's economy, the Parliamentarian pointed out, the Life President had earned Malawi world-wide respect through the stress that the nation's debts should always be honoured--and in time. In this light, Mr. Chinsamba Kwenda echoed a stern warning to controlling officers handling public funds that misuse of the funds was a serious offence and would not be tolerated.



The Parliamentarian thanked the South African Government and the European Economic Community (EEC) along with neighbouring states, for helping Malawi overcome some major technical difficulties recently.

Also supporting the Budget Speech, the Member for Mulanje South, Mr. Tadeus Phaiya, expressed happiness in noting that the country had balanced the recurrent budget. At this time of general world economic disarray due to world-wide inflation, Malawi's achievement underlined the Life President's effective leadership which had also seen the wiping out of the K12 million deficit the nation had inherited from the colonial masters, he stated.

Mr. Phaiya praised the Ngwazi for instilling a spirit of hard work in his people and teaching them modern methods of agriculture, from which they had abundant food both for consumption and for sale. Commending the external assistance the country received to overcome technical problems recently, the Parliamentarian called for continued solidarity behind the Ngwazi so that the Malawi leader is fully assisted in his untiring task of nation building.

Parliament continues.

#### Warning on Financial Control

Blantyre DAILY TIMES in English 28 Mar 80 p 1

[Text]

**THE Chairman of the Public Accounts Committee, Mr. J. Mielemba, has appealed to civil servants responsible for the management of public funds to avoid unnecessary expenditure and to ensure that all revenue due to the Government is collected.**

**Mr. Mielemba said this yesterday when presenting the Committee's report to Parliament.**

**Mr. Mielemba said if tight financial control is to be achieved by the Treasury and the Ministries, the accounting records must be up-to-date so that complete management information is available when required.**

The Chairman stated that if records are properly kept, controlling officers should have little difficulty in keeping their actual expenditure within the revised estimate.

He warned that there is a danger that the overall budget surplus might be turned into a deficit if an improvement is not made.

Controlling officers should appear before a committee personally to give explanation of any deficiency in their administration, he stated.

Misappropriation of funds during the year in all Ministries amounted to K126,000, Mr. Mielemba disclosed, adding that it was difficult to understand how a sum of nearly K40,000 was misappropriated in the Information Department by the preparation and encashment of fraudulent payment vouchers.

A number of frauds occurred during the year in the Ministries of Agriculture and Natural Resources, Health and Justice which could have been quickly stopped if an adequate system of internal check and control had been in operation, he stated.

Many controlling officers blamed inflation for over-expenditures on sub-heads, he said. There are several causes of inflation, Mr. Mlelemba explained, pointing out that unnecessary expenditure was one of them. "If you cannot keep proper records, you cannot estimate future expenditures, and if you cannot prepare accurate estimates, you cannot properly control expenditures," he said.

The controlling officers and their seniors were well aware of the methods employed to control expenditure but the methods were not put into practice, he stated.

Mr. Mlelemba told the House that over K3,500,000 is owed to the Government by individual debtors.

Speaking in support of the report, the Member for Dedza South, Mr. U.J. Chadza Chisale, said certain individuals and organisations owe the Government large sums of money. He warned them to pay back the money which, he said, is greatly

needed by the Government for national development.

Mr. Chisale spoke at length on the misuse of Government vehicles and said that drastic steps should be taken to stop this.

The Member for Chikwawa East, Mr. D.D. Chiwanga, in support of the report, said every tambala for the Government should be accounted for. He appealed to controlling officers to exercise maximum care in handling the public funds.

The Member for Thyolo South, Mr. N.G. Wandale Thupuwela, the Member for Thyolo North, Mr. D.S. Katopola, the Member for Chitipa North, Mr. D.W. M. Mwanja, the Minister of Labour and Social Welfare, Mr. W.B. Deleza, the Minister of Education, Mr. D.J. Matenje, the Member for Chikwawa East, Mr. D.D. Chiwanga, in support of the report, all joined in warning controlling officers on the misuse of public funds.

## GROWTH OF 10-YEAR OLD COMMERCIAL BANK DESCRIBED

Blantyre DAILY TIMES in English 10 Apr 80 p 6

[Text] In the ten years since its inception, the Commercial Bank of Malawi Limited has developed from a small Bank to the large, well distributed banking organisation it is today. On the 11th April, 1970, His Excellency the Life President, Ngwazi Dr. H. Kamuzu Banda, opened the first branch of the Bank in Churchill Avenue, Limbe. Since that day, rapid progress has been made in the Bank and it now encompasses a Head Office complex, a London Office, 11 Malawi Branches and Mobile or Static agencies at 110 points throughout Malawi.

During this period of development, considerable changes have occurred in the financial, executive and ownership structure of the Bank. After a number of changes in shareholding, in 1974 the present ownership came about and the issued share capital is held 40 percent Press Holdings, 30 percent Bank of America, 20 percent Malawi Development Corporation and 10 percent Agricultural Development and Marketing Corporation. This last alternation of the Bank's shareholding means that 70 percent of the Bank's capital is now held by local interests, thereby realising the Life President's hopes for an increasing Malawian interest in the Bank. The Bank has shown excellent growth--and it cleared its establishment costs and initial operating losses within the first five years of operation.

The bank offers a wide range of services to the community and these services are constantly being reviewed, improved and expanded in an endeavour to keep abreast of modern times. Apart from normal banking activities; i.e. Current Accounts, Stop Orders, Bills of Exchange, Foreign Exchange Negotiations, Trusteeship, etc., the Bank, having

realised the vast resources of untapped activities, is continually moving ahead into new areas and has purchased an investment in a property company — Urban Dev. Ltd. Other investments have been the acquisition of equity in the insurance brokerage firm Hogg Robinson (Malawi) Limited, and the formation of a

new agricultural management service, CBM Farm Services Limited.

CBM Farm Services Limited was created to offer assistance and advice to certain Estates financed by the Bank. Together with this service, Farm Services runs its own contracting, transport and buying services. These ser-

vices have proved very useful in the first year of operations, especially the buying service which assists the estates in obtaining goods during periods of scarcity and usually at a discounted rate.

A recent development by the Bank has been the installation of an NCR 8270 computer in its Blantyre Main Branch Premises.

This modern and sophisticated computer is the first installation of its kind in Africa and its comprehensive preprogrammed on-line Banking system is comparable to on-line systems used in major banking institutions throughout the world.

The main objectives of the automation programme are to improve quality and processing speed in processing customers' accounts, management information reporting, accuracy and control of the Bank's operations and the effective utilization of staff resources through the elimination of labour intensive tasks. Ginnery Corner Branch is the pilot branch and with the expert assistance and co-operation of the Department of Posts and Telecommunications, the Bank successfully initiated transmission of data between its Blantyre and Ginnery Corner branch on the 3rd October 1979. The first computer will serve the Central and Northern Regions.

The Bank has maintained extensive training courses and established its own training centre in Zomba in 1976. The Bank is building a new training school in Lilongwe which will handle courses for Senior Malawian Officers and it is hoped to have this centre operating by the end of the year.

To date, three Malawians have attained managerial

status and a number have achieved assistant manager posts. Several of the branches are completely Malawianised as a result of successful training.

Since its inception, the Commercial Bank has grown with the country. Construction of a new headquarters building is underway in Lilongwe to enable the bank to keep pace with the rapid development of the Capital City.

[Photo Caption]

The N.C.R. 8270 computer on which the two young men are working is certainly a reflection of the Commercial Bank of Malawi's progress and outward-looking projects--the sophisticated computer, at the Blantyre Main Branch premises, is the first installation of its kind in Africa.--Picture by Daily Times.

CSO: 4420

## SYSTEM OF MINIMUM, GRADUATED TAXES SPELLED OUT

Blantyre DAILY TIMES in English 17 Mar 80 p 1

[Article by Peter Towsey]

[Text]

**MINIMUM** Tax is levied at a fixed rate of K3.50 upon all adult males who have attained the age of 18 years on the first day of the tax year (1st April) — unless they are liable to graduated tax or income tax proper. This means in practice that all males earning less than K122 per year are liable.

There is no lower exemption limit, but there is provision for exemption of disabled or infirm people and persons in full time education, if they are without means to pay.

Minimum Tax is a poll tax, probably the simplest and cheapest tax to collect. It also serves the purpose of forcing those who are liable into the money economy, that is to say to force them to get at least a temporary job as the only way of finding the money with which to pay tax.

Graduated Tax is for people earning up to K900 per annum (or K75 per month). Below K122 per annum minimum tax applies. It is the duty of the employer to collect and pay graduated tax. There are no exceptions. An employer of a single domestic servant is liable to account for the tax along with the largest commercial employer. Both are liable to penalties if payment is not made within six months. The normal method of settlement is by way of stamps purchased from the tax office and affixed to the worker's card. But the tax office will issue receipts for sums of money covering stated periods of time and will also accept payment in advance — a convenience for both parties.

The rates of graduated tax are set out in the Thirteenth Schedule to the Taxation Act. For monthly paid employees the tax payable monthly is set out below.

For earnings below K10.17 graduated tax merges with minimum tax. It is provided that, whatever the level of earnings, tax payable must not fall below K3.50 per annum, the amount of the minimum tax.

There is a separate table, also in the Thirteenth Schedule, for weekly paid workers. Subject to rounding off errors both tables give the same tax burden.

Notice that graduated tax goes up in steps. The tax to which any person is liable can be (indeed must be) read off the table. This leaves no room for errors or disputes in calculations, as there would be if tax was on a stated percentage scale. It also produces an anomaly in that people are taxed at different rates (as percentages of taxable income) according to where they fall within a particular tax bracket. Notice that a man on K10.18 a month has a 'take-home pay' of K10.18 — 48t — K9.70. If he arranged for his wages to be reduced to K10.17 his take-home pay would be K10.17 — 30t — K9.87. One of those 'anomalies' that crop up in tax systems. It would be possible by a complicated system of 'marginal relief' or otherwise to correct this anomaly, but that would destroy the simplicity and ease of administration of the scheme and would not be worth the candle.

Minimum tax is for males only. Graduated tax is imposed on males and females alike. The difference seems to be that a woman earning K10.17 or less per month will be taxed like a man at 30t per month but, if she works for part of the year only, will not be liable for any minimum payment of K3.50 a year, as a man is. Moreover if she does not work at all she will not be 'charged' for tax, as a man would be.

Sex discrimination in favour of the gentle sex? Or just another of those tax anomalies?

No personal reliefs are available to the minimum tax or the graduated tax payer. A man with a wife and twelve children pays the same amount in tax as a single man. Unfair? Maybe. But to give personal reliefs to the hundreds of thousands people liable to minimum tax and graduated tax would involve administrative expense out of proportion to the revenue yield.

The taxman must compromise between social justice and ease of administration. Sometimes seemingly he must compromise (as in graduated tax) with arithmetic logic.

TABLE OF GRADUATED TAX

Earnings per month	Tax per month
Up to and including K10.17	30t
Between K10.18 and K20.00	48t
Between K20.01 and K33.33	82t
Between K33.34 and K50.00	K1.22
Between K50.01 and K75.00	K1.82

CSO: 4420



## EXTENSION OF TOWNSHIP BOUNDARIES DISCUSSED

Blantyre DAILY TIMES in English 25 Mar 80 p 7

[Text] Zomba Monday-- The Minister of Local Government, Mr Twaibu Sangala, answered questions in parliament pertaining to his Ministry.

The Member for Mzimba East, Mr S.V.H. Bazaar Nyirenda, asked the Minister what progress had been made concerning the extension of Mzuzu Township boundaries.

The Parliamentarian also wanted to know whether the Minister was aware that people were building permanent and expensive houses on the land which may in future fall within township boundaries.

Replying to the question, Mr Sangala told the House that an agreement for the extension of Mzuzu Township boundaries had already been reached by all the parties concerned.

His Ministry, the Minister added, was now waiting the description of the new boundaries to be drafted by the Commissioner for Surveys. The work which, when completed, would be published in the GOVERNMENT GAZETTE.

"I am aware that expensive houses, are being built in the extended township boundaries and this is a welcome move because these will be a source of income to the council in the form of township rates," he explained in answer to part two of the same question.

The Minister appealed to the Honourable Member to assist in encouraging property owners to pay their township rates in time to enable the council to continue growing and providing better services.

Answering another question from Mr Bazaar Nyirenda, the Minister said the people whose property fell within extended boundaries of the township would not be moved out straight away, adding that the need for compensation did, therefore, not arise.

Mr Bazaar Nyirenda had again asked the Minister to state whether people whose property fell within extended boundaries would be compensated when asked to move away.

"Should need to develop a particular area at any time in future arise, the Government would consider to compensate property owners who will be displaced in the extended areas," he explained.

CSO: 4420

## FARMERS IN KARONGA URGED TO WIDEN FARMING AREA

Blantyre DAILY TIMES in English 14 Apr 80 p 5

[Text]

IN A MOVE that is seen here as widening the area of commercial farming, farmers in Karonga are currently being urged to grow as much cashew nuts as possible.

The urge follows another positive move last February when the Karonga/Chitipa Rural Development Project (KCRDP) distributed an estimated 3,000 cashew nut tree seedlings to 300 willing growers in Karonga District, free of charge.

The exercise, jointly executed by the project and the Ministry of Agriculture, has three objectives: To raise the local farmer's economic posture, develop the farming industry here on a strong commercial basis and to involve the ordinary farmer in the crop's foreign exchange earning capability.

Like the Lower Shire, Karonga has the right climatic and weather conditions for the successful growing of cashew nuts, according to a spokesman of the Ministry of Agriculture office here.

A few years ago His Excellency the Life President, Ngwazi Dr. H. Kamuzu Banda who is Minister responsible for Agriculture and Natural Resources appealed to his people to grow cashew nuts and promised that ADMARC would buy the crop.

Since then hundreds of farmers in Karonga have heeded the appeal and are growing the crop on a relatively medium scale.

The current "Grow plenty of cashewnuts's drive" in Karonga is therefore a continuation of what is already here and the future of the crop looks hopeful.

Once planted and successfully looked after, cashewnut trees could keep on bearing fruits for three decades with the maximum yield realised midway through that period.

The nut is used for confectionery while its shell provides oil.

An average cashewnut tree could give up to 15 kilogrammes of nut per year. With recommended pacing, this means approximately 2,000 kilogrammes weight of nuts per acre a year.

Meanwhile, twenty six agriculture field assistants have completed a week long refresher course at Baka Agriculture Training Centre.

The course, organised by the KCRDP, puts strong emphasis on proper methods of planting, caring, picking and grading of the crop.

A spokesman for the centre said that the field assistants were expected to share the knowledge to farmers under them. Each field assistant takes care of approximately two thousand farming families. According to the spokesman who added however that not all such families may be engaged in cashewnuts farming.

— MANA

## ADMARC RECEIVES AID FROM WEST GERMAN TOBACCO FIRM

Blantyre DAILY TIMES in English 20 Apr 80 p 1

[Text]

**AGRICULTURAL Development and Marketing Corporation** has received two Toyota pick-up vehicles and two motor cycles from the Reemstma Company of West Germany to be used by the officials on extension services in the Oriental tobacco growing areas of the country.

The Executive Chairman of ADMARC, Mr. D. Z. Tembo, received the vehicles on behalf of the corporation while Mr. Van Der Vliet, the Leaf Director of the Reemstma Company, presented the gifts on behalf of his company at a special ceremony held at ADMARC Marketing House in Limbe on Thursday.

Speaking after receiving the vehicles, Mr. Tembo thanked the Reemstma Company for its kind gesture to donate the vehicles to his organisation which, he said, would be used for extension services in places such as Mzimba and Rumphu where Oriental tobacco was being produced.

Mr. Tembo noted that the donation of the two Toyota pick-up motor vehicles and the two Yamaha motor cycles was a further demonstration of the material support Malawi had received from the Reemstma Company.

"In addition to the vehicles and motor cycles, Reemstma had contributed towards the cost of curing tents to the Malawi growers of Oriental tobacco," he noted.

He told the gathering that came to witness the ceremony that the main objective of this project was to further boost Oriental tobacco production in this country and that there was a marked demand for Malawi Oriental tobacco overseas.

Giving a brief history of how Oriental tobacco was introduced in Malawi, Mr. Tembo explained that during the period 1952-55, this type of tobacco was grown on experimental basis at Mhawa Experimental Station in Mzimba District and that the results were encouraging.

In 1955, he said, the crop was grown on a small scale in that area, but because of lack of experience by growers there, little progress was made at that time until in 1961 when the production reached 64,000 pounds weight.

Mr. Tembo told his audience that in 1964 the production of the crop increased to 80,000 pounds weight, with about 2,000 growers and that in 1965, due to a favourable weather condition, the crop established itself as a potentially important one in the Northern Region.

He said that the Oriental tobacco scheme was then part of the Malawi Government's five-year development plan of between 1965 — 69 during which the German Bank for Reconstruction and Development provided the Malawi Government with financial aid to improve the production of this tobacco crop.

He disclosed that the aid from the German Bank for Reconstruction and Development was used in purchasing vehicles and the drilling of boreholes in the areas where this tobacco was cultivated.

Due to lack of experience, Mr. Tembo pointed out, the project's target was not achieved in the growing and handling of this crop.

As a result, said the Executive Chairman, the crop was introduced in other districts such as Kasungu and Mchinji but there again, due to lack of technical know-how, the crop was not successful and the idea was dropped.

He explained that in order to avoid the total failure of this crop in this country, negotiations were entered with the Reemstma Company and that the Life President approved to reduce buying grades from eleven to five grades to make it easier for the growers.

Mr. Tembo said Reemstma Company, through Limbe Leaf Tobacco Company, has continued to be the principal buyer of Oriental tobacco.

He said that the crop production went up from 64,000 pounds weight in 1961 to over 1½ million pounds weight in 1977.

In reply, Mr. Van Der Vliet said that his company will continue to support in the growing of Oriental tobacco and to contribute to the success of the Oriental tobacco project.

—MANA

## BRIEFS

**BEER PRICES UP**--The Ministry of Trade, Industry and Tourism here has introduced controlled prices for Carlsberg beer in the country as from Friday April 11, 1980. The Ministry announced that bottle store owners should sell Carlsberg Green and Brown at 30 tambala per bottle while Elephant should be sold at 38 tambala per bottle. In bars, night clubs, restaurants and hotels, Green and Brown Carlsberg should be sold at 35 tambala per bottle and Elephant at 46 tambala per bottle, the announcement said. It added that wholesalers or agents have been advised to sell Green and Brown Carlsberg at K6.40 per crate while Elephant must be sold at K8.06 per crate. The ministry emphasized that the controlled prices are maximum prices and traders are permitted to charge lower prices if they wish. On the other hand, steps will be taken to prosecute any trader who charges prices higher than the maximum controlled prices, it further stated.--MANA [Text] [Blantyre DAILY TIMES in English 14 Apr 80 p 5]

**NEW LILONGWE MAYOR**--Lilongwe Thursday--A spokesman from the Ministry of Local Government headquarters in Lilongwe today announced that His Excellency the Life President, Ngwazi Dr H. Kamuzu Banda, has been pleased to appoint Councillor Louis Alex Horace Malinki and Councillor Ladislav Wicklief Amos Phiri as Mayor and Deputy Mayor of the City of Lilongwe respectively. The appointments are with effect from Thursday, April 10, 1980, the announcement concluded.--MANA [Text] [Blantyre DAILY TIMES in English 11 Apr 80 p 1]

CSO: 4420

## BACKGROUND OF WHITE APPOINTEES REPORTED

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 11 Apr 80 p 17

[Text]

JOHANNESBURG — Most of the white men sworn in this week as members of the reshuffled Mozambique Cabinet, supported Frelimo long before independence. The new Minister of State Security, Mr Jacinto Soares Veloso, was a Portuguese air force officer who defected to Frelimo with his aircraft during the war of independence in Mozambique.

He flew the Harvard from his northern Mozambique base at Mocimboa do Praia, to Mtwara, just across the Tanzania border, to join the resistance movement based there.

Photographs taken at the time showed the aircraft, complete with napalm canisters, at Mtwara airfield while Veloso was interviewed by Tanzanian officials.

With Frelimo president Samora Machel's return to Mozambique Mr Veloso became head of the local Service of Popular Security.

Another who defected to Frelimo in the early days was Mr Jose Luis Cabace who now switches portfolios from transport back to information, a position he has held before.

The son of a district commissioner, he fled to Italy to avoid service with the Portuguese army.

He later travelled to Dar-es-Salaam to join Frelimo and returned with President Machel for independence, to become Minister of Information.

In June 1976, as Minister of Transport, he made what appeared to be a tough anti-South African statement declaring that Mozambique intended ending the dependence of its road and rail systems on "colonial and capitalist structures."

This sparked fears that South African use of Maputo harbour would end.

The opposite has, in fact, occurred and co-operation between the two ideologically-opposed nations is now close on a transportation level.

The new Minister of Ports and Land Transport, Mr Luis Alcintra Santos was a senior railway official under the colonial administration.

He elected to stay after independence and became general manager of Mozambique railways. In that capacity he made frequent visits to South Africa with the head of South African



Railways, Dr Kobus Loubser.

Mr Rui Baltazar, who retains his finance portfolio, was a liberal lawyer in pre-independence Mozambique who later joined Frelimo becoming first Minister of Justice and then of Finance.

The other whites in the new Cabinet are Mr Rui Gomes Louca, who was Secretary of State for Energy and now becomes Minister of Posts, Telecommunications and Civil Aviation; and Mr Antonio Lima Branco, the new Minister of Industry and Energy, who was Secretary of Fisheries.

The new Deputy Minister of the Interior, Mr Carlos Raposo Pereira, was previously head of the Criminal Investigation Department under Frelimo and was one of the men most feared by his fellow white Mozambicans. He was also a lawyer in the old Lourenco Marques.

The reshuffle was the biggest in post-independence Mozambique. At the swearing-in of 10 new ministers and three deputy ministers, President Machel said it was necessary for the country to be run by the men who best knew the problems facing their sectors.

CSO: 4420

## DISASTROUS SITUATION, COLLAPSE OF MAJOR ENTERPRISE REVIEWED

### Root Causes Analyzed

Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 9 Apr 80 pp 2, 6

[Excerpts] We find today in the Octavio R. Lobo firm in the capital an example and model of a completely incapable and inoperative administration which has led a major commercial enterprise to a state of total disorganization and to the brink of economic and financial collapse. In a little over 4 years, since the intervention of the company, a disastrous administrative committee wrecked a sound commercial unit representing powerful multinationals in the automobile, fuel oil and photographic material industries in our country, reducing it to a mere office wherein, owing to the lack of any control, each worker solicited customers on his own to supply spare parts stolen from the company, and each mechanic "hunted" for odd jobs which he performed when he left work.

This chaotic situation became even worse at the end of 1979, when two members of the administrative committee were "requisitioned" for other enterprises, leaving only one, who ended up being "consumed" at times by the anarchical confusion which prevailed at the Octavio R. Lobo enterprise.

### Directed Incompetence

This was the state of "organized disorganization" which the head of state of our country found on the morning of 25 January, when he visited the Octavio R. Lobo enterprise in the course of the political and organizational offensive that he started at the beginning of this year.

The lack of capacity of the administration of this enterprise was such that the supreme leader of the Mozambican revolution remarked that it was a situation of "directed incompetence," obvious proof of the tendency to promote incapable people.

But the unruly atmosphere created in this enterprise was not confined merely to the incapacity of its administrative officials. It extended to widespread corruption among the workers themselves.

## The History of the Enterprise

The Octavio R. Lobo is a commercial enterprise founded 56 years ago by a Portuguese colonist, which was passed on from father to son with the passage of time, while simultaneously being modernized and enlarged with the expansion of colonial capitalism.

It was the representative in Mozambique of powerful capitalist multinational firms, such as BMW and the Subaru, Hillman and Chrysler makes of automobiles, as well as of the Castrol fuel oil monopoly. It was also a representative of the AGFA multinational company dealing in photographic and cinematographic materials, likewise dealing in fishing equipment, maritime engines, machinery and tools, hunting equipment, power saws, outboard motors, bicycles and motorcycles, sports equipment, repairs and paints, and other items.

After our country's independence, the firm was intervened in by the then Ministry of Industry and Commerce, inasmuch as the only heir-owner remaining had been expelled from Mozambique for engaging in action detrimental to the sovereignty of the People's Republic of Mozambique. It was then that an administrative committee was appointed, comprised of Humberto de Oliveira Dique, Abdul Carimo Mussa and, subsequently, Alberto Antonio Gazite.

## The Reason for the Chaos

One of the main reasons contributing to the disorganization at the Octavio R. Lobo enterprise was the fact that the respective administrative committee was locked up in the luxurious offices of the so-called headquarters of the enterprise (incidentally, the smallest part of the firm, located in Baixa), leaving the most important part in the new facilities, on the Avenue of Labor, completely devoid of any organizational structure. There was no control at all.

## Present Situation

We were told by Joaquim Alfredo, head of the committee sent by CODAUTO [the state enterprise for distribution of automobiles]: "We had to start from scratch, grading and physically counting the thousands of parts which were here; because they were scattered on the floor without any identification. At the same time, we had to make a general inventory in order to learn the amounts and value of the parts and vehicles for repair that were present; because there was not a single bit of information on them. I have never seen this kind of disorganization."

We learned that the Octavio R. Lobo enterprise, whose present financial status is not known even now, will go out of existence. The automobile makes represented by it will be turned over to various technical assistance enterprises.

## Reasons Invoked

Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 9 Apr 80 p 2

[Text] The disorganization at the Octavio R. Lobo enterprise is not the only instance in our country. In both the other automobile technical assistance firms and the enterprises of other sectors there are problems inherent in the difficult phase that we are undergoing which have led to situations marked by low production and productivity, even a standstill on the manufacturing lines, economic insolvency and other problems which contribute, either directly or indirectly, to the disorganization of all the work systems, depending upon the capacity and operational dynamism of the respective administrative structures.

In the area of technical assistance, these difficulties have been exacerbated by the fact that, before independence, all the firms were sized for a far smaller volume of work than the present one. They were small private companies operating on the basis of capitalist competition; but now, with the centralization of those "little firms" in large sectors, major organizational upsets have taken place, for which the identical structural change was quite often not fitting.

In this regard, those which were formerly small companies virtually covering one block now, with a smaller number of cadres, have to make large imports in order to handle the entire volume of work done in the country in a particular branch of industry. In view of this situation, the young state apparatus in our country lacks the capacity to systematically and effectively control and assist all the sectors that are being established.

The Octavio R. Lobo enterprise, also in the process of reorganization, is not exempt from this rule either, with the aggravating circumstance of having been originally given a completely inefficient management incapable of discerning the changes that have been taking place around the sector.

In fact, it was not easy to endow an enterprise such as the Octavio R. Lobo, dealing in a variety of items ranging from "the pin to the automobile," with a management which could keep it on a good level of organization. And even now, when it is about to be disbanded, great difficulties have cropped up in relation to the various ministries accepting the quite variegated branches under their aegis (when they are disbanded); because they are not sized to have large sectors involving fishing equipment, maritime engines and hunting equipment, among others.

2909

CSO: 4401

INEFFICIENCY OF WORK COMMITTEES CITED

Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 12 Apr 80 p 3

[Excerpts] Beira--The inefficiency of a virtual majority of work committees due to the fact that they have failed to coordinate their activity properly and correctly with the district committees, and also to the lack of understanding of the problems besetting the people, caused by a lack of regular visits to create a keen sensitivity toward the people's situation, was noted during the course of the Seventh Session of the Manica Provincial Assembly, the work of which, guided by Governor Manuel Antonio, was concluded on the afternoon of the day before yesterday.

At this provincial meeting, an in depth analysis was made of the socioeconomic activity in Manica, based on the reports submitted by the work committees created at the Fourth Session of the Provincial Assembly. In general, those documents revealed inadequacies in the operation of the committees, with the exception of the one created for the sector for trade, supplies, marketing and removal of products, whose deputies (the Seventh Session of the Provincial Assembly noted) proved to have an extensive understanding of the problems in the area of supplies which are most affecting the region's population.

2909  
CSO: 4401

INDUSTRIAL, AGRICULTURAL, NAVAL MAINTENANCE ACCORD WITH USSR

Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 10 Apr 80 p 1

[Text] Important agreements for cooperation in the areas of the mining industry, agriculture, the ship-building industry and ship repairs were signed yesterday in Maputo, after several days of talks between delegations from the People's Republic of Mozambique and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Moreover, the deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee for Foreign Economic Relations, Ivan I. Tchernychev, head of the Soviet delegation, was also received in the capital yesterday by Marcelino dos Santos, member of the Political Standing Committee of the Party's Central Committee and secretary for economic policy of the party's Central Committee.

The documents for the accords signed yesterday were initialed by Prakash Ratilal, vice-governor of the Bank of Mozambique, and Ivan Tchernychev, at a ceremony attended by other Mozambican and Soviet personages.

The representatives of the two countries delivered brief remarks on that occasion, underscoring the importance and significance of these agreements, which will reinforce the friendly and cooperative relations that already exist.

The Soviet delegation arrived in Mozambique on 2 April from Moscow, in order to hold talks with the Mozambican Government regarding the cooperation between the two countries.

On Thursday afternoon, Ivan Tchernychev and his party were received at Mavalane airport in Maputo by the vice-governor of the Bank of Mozambique, Prakash Ratilal, and the state secretary of cotton, Joao Ferreira, as well as the USSR's ambassador to the People's Republic of Mozambique.

2909

CSO: 4401



# COLUMNIST CRITICIZES WHITE VIEW OF ELECTIONS

Windhoek THE WINDHOEK ADVERTISER in English 28 Apr 80 p 5

[Article by Bill Hulme in the column "Firing Line": "The Non-White Sideshow"]

[Text]

BY TWENTY to midnight I've been told all the "very basics, the fundamental things" of politics in this country:

- That the Whites — especially the officials, of course — are indispensable;

- That the other population groups in South West Africa know this fact very well, and "appreciate it" (presumably their dependence on the Whites);

- That the "Amptenare" will definitely leave the country if they are not given "reasonable" participation through "their" elected second tier body (meaning the Legislative Assembly); and

- That "quite obviously" this will lead to disaster.

## WHITE ELECTION

Therefore, said the official from the Administrator General's Office, it is "obviously" imperative to have a White election.

"But aren't there going to be second tier elections across the board, for all population groups?" he was asked.

"Oh yes, yes of course," came the answer. "But it's the White election that will be followed very closely, especially

in South Africa. And one cannot overemphasize the importance of this election to keep the White officials in the country."

## REHASH

Since, I've heard that our spokesman was only using His Excellency's words. And that is an extremely alarming thought!

It's simply a rehash of standard rightwing argument. One hears it at every Aktur meeting.

The shattering aspect in this line of thinking, if one may call it that, is that people in high places seem so often to find it impossible to learn fast enough.

A popular argument this was in Africa for quite a while in days gone by. Yet our man from Pretoria might be the last of the line to utter that colonialist rubbish on this continent. Not such a fine thing to be noted for in the history books, and a lot of good it did elsewhere, hey?

Until this country can provide its own officialdom, it is very important to provide temporarily for the use of foreign manpower. But it is the utmost in foolhardiness to make some of the most crucial

political decisions on the basis of that cock-eyed argument we started out with.

(To keep the better officials, you simply pay them. And you give those born and bred inside the country preference when it comes to the plum jobs. Make it financially worthwhile for those who are in Namibia to stay, and attract those you want here in exactly the same way. Few White officials in South Africa will come here because they've been sold on a political argument, very few indeed!)

#### A SIDESHOW

On the other hand, to this keep the "Amptenare" argument for second tier elections, there is another aspect.

In not so many words, it is blatantly said that second tier elections for the other population groups is actually nothing but a sideshow. . .

Some bloody sideshow!

#### PREOCCUPIED

But it seems our bureaucratic rulers up in the Berg Hotel are still, even now, preoccupied to such an extent with South Africa's vicious infighting for the support of a solely White electorate, that they have just about no understanding for the realities of broad-based democratic politics.

That presumably is the reason too for parading those living symbols of apartheid - President Mangope and entourage - all through Namibia?

#### REBELLIOUS

With your consent, gentlemen, we've changed it out here in Namibia.

remember? The rightwingers, now being so lovingly pampered by His Excellency, are likely to turn out less than five percent in electoral support. . .

No wonder, one would think, that other groups have been growing impatient. The word actually, is rebellious.

#### DUAL PURPOSE MISSION

Now, on top of that, there is word around town that Dr Gerrit Viljoen was from the very outset sent to Namibia on a dual-purpose mission: "versoenig van die blankes", and then with this nice reputation, getting out while the going is still OK, to bolster the verligtes in the South African Cabinet against the Treurnicht onslaught.

See, for that anyone can use a bit of live wire experience around town in Windhoek, and, the image of the man who defused the White "time bomb" -- that make-belief crisis.

#### ALL GROUPS VOTING

It is being said that His Excellency might even leave the country quite soon, in June/July. This, of course meaning that he'll be missing the second tier elections he feels so strongly about.

As recently as last week, his Office issued a statement on his behalf stating: all population groups will be voting before the end of the year.

#### DIRECT TALKS

But before saying anything more about the elections, let's spare His Excellency's recent London trip a fleeting glance.

He was hinting at direct talks between the South African Government and

Swapo. And it seems this extraordinary trip was planned for that purpose.

#### UNDERMINE

This, however, is a step of stunningly far-reaching implications. For Swapo demands, amongst other things, equal status to South Africa at any such talks, and this is a wellknown fact.

Did the Administrator General realise to what extent these utterances of his undermine the position of the elected democratic parties in this country?

It effectively boosts Swapo into a position of being recognized *de facto* as a Government in Exile. But still, on the other hand we are going to have second tier elections, also up in Owambo.

And in that very same Press statement of his, the Administrator General said that it will be "billik en regverdig." What a vain hope!

#### WAR CONDITIONS

More than half the population of Namibia is living under war conditions up there. Even so, His Excellency states that he is going to "control" the election, and it is going to be free and fair. . .

While every national serviceman and fighting officer to return to Windhoek can tell you that the war situation in the "operational area" has recently deteriorated shockingly, it seems the Administrator General is the last yet to be told!

I believe the Owambo leaders of the DTA have been urged to boycott second tier elections. . . and this can't be a surprise at all.

# GELDENHUYS: SWAPO'S HEAVY LOSSES WILL SHOW RESULTS SOON

Windhoek THE WINDHOEK ADVERTISER in English 28 Apr 80 p 4

[Text]

REHOBOTH: Heavy losses by Swapo terrorists in SWA recently would in due course show beneficial results in the Territory. Major General Jannie Geldenhuys, Officer Commanding the SWA Command of the Defence Force, said here on Friday.

Officially opening the Baster Volksraad, (second tier authority) General Geldenhuys said security forces had in the past month dealt Swapo terrorists severe blows.

In April last year, for instance, only 13 Swapo terrorists died in the SWA operational area, he said.

This figure had now increased to an average of 90 terrorists a month. In November, last year, 156 Swapo terrorists were killed by security forces and this month 134 terrorists died in the bush war.

"A terrorist movement such as Swapo simply cannot afford to lose between 80 and 90

men every month," General Geldenhuys said. "I am definitely convinced we shall, within the next few months, see beneficial results because of these security forces successes."

He said the successes had had a demoralising effect on Swapo terrorists in their host countries. Many of them were deserting.

Another result of the security force actions had been that there was a definite longterm downturn in the incidence of intimidation of civilians in the Territory.

As a result of heavy losses, Swapo had launched a special military effort in SWA at the end of last year and at the beginning of this year.

This was borne out by the infiltration of terrorists through the Mangetti Bloc into the traditionally White areas and into the hitherto peaceful Kankoland in north-western SWA.

General Geldenhuys said he expected that the special attempt by Swapo would last only a few more months. It

had been launched mainly to regain lost prestige in the eyes of the world.

A feature of the attempt was that Swapo terrorists attacked low-risk targets with maximum propaganda value such as the abduction of headmen and blowing up power lines. General Geldenhuys said the battle in SWA was not only for the Territory itself, but for stability in the entire sub-continent of Southern Africa.

Turning to the international scene, General Geldenhuys said the Soviet Union was at present more unpopular in the world than ever because of its incursion into Afghanistan.

He said Cubans in Angola were also becoming increasingly unpopular with the Angolan people. In Cuba itself the government had been forced into allowing 10 000 citizens to gather at a foreign embassy to seek asylum.

Generally speaking, there were indications that the Soviet Union might be running into trouble with its actions in Africa, just as the United States had "burned its fingers" in Vietnam war. - Sapa

UNOFFICIAL POLL TAKEN ON GRIEVANCES OF BLACKS

Windhoek THE WINDHOEK ADVERTISER in English 22 Apr 80 p 12

[Text]

WE CONDUCTED a random survey this week among Blacks in Windhoek to find out what grieved them most.

The survey covered a broad political, social and economic spectrum but was not scientifically based such that we could give the grievances a weighting.

The list is nevertheless an interesting one.

We must point out however that many of the grievances are imaginary, but we feel this does not in itself discount the importance. On the contrary, everything possible should be done by bodies and persons concerned to communicate the correct state of affairs.

Elections are not won by what is necessarily right or wrong, but rather by what the electorate knows or believes.

This is the list:

THE DTA

- It has no clear objectives;
- It has not fulfilled the promise it made in the December 1978 election;
- Many of the laws it passes in the National Assembly it does not implement;
- It is carrying out a deliberate policy of divide and rule to cloud White privileges;
- It doesn't know the difference between the abolition of apartheid and decolonisation;
- It is stalling in transferring power from the White minority to the Black majority;
- It is moving at the pace of an ox wagon when it should be moving at the pace of a jet.

AKTUR

- It is holding the entire country to ransom; not even Dirk Mudge is brave enough to tell Aktur's leaders what to do.

THE ADMINISTRATOR GENERAL

- He lacks thrust as the country's head of state;
- He spends too much time looking after the interests of the Whites and too little time looking after the interests of the rest;

- He refuses to recognise the reality of Black nationalism;
- He has shown no aggressive policy of indigenisation of government;
- He never ever talks to the people.

#### BRUTALITY

- The Homeguard in Owambo has become a curse;
- Nudo headmen in the Herero areas such as Aminuis are often intimidatory;
- There is often maltreatment of Blacks by members of the SAP;
- Many units of the SADF have no respect whatsoever for the dignity of people and property in the operational area;
- It is common for Whites to beat up Blacks for seemingly no reason at all.

#### SOCIAL DISCRIMINATION

- Blacks are now accepted in most hotels but entry into private bars is still almost exclusively based on colour;
- Whites still refer to Blacks as "kaffers", "boy" and "meide";

#### COMMUNITY LIFE

- Shortage of housing;
- No tarred roads and street lights;
- Inadequate transport facilities;
- 41 Battalion has never ever shown a face in Katutura.

#### HEALTH AND SOCIAL WELFARE

- Blacks have to wait in long queues at hospitals, sometimes for a full day. The same does not apply to Whites;
- The Black sections of country hospitals are inferior to the White sections;
- Social welfare bends over backwards to help begging White children but never cares about begging Black children.

#### EDUCATION

- Black people have to leave the country of their birth to get a decent education;
- Too few English schools available to Blacks;
- The people still do not have the university they were promised;
- Black schools look like "hoenderhokke" compared to White and even Brown schools;
- The Lusaka Institute is superior to the Otjiwarongo school of public administration;
- No secretarial schools exist for Black women.

#### ECONOMICS

- Equal pay for equal work has not really been effectively implemented, particularly in the private sector;
- Nothing is being done to overcome unemployment;
- And there are too few opportunities for Blacks to really advance.

VILJOEN: FRONTLINE STATES COULD BE FACTOR FOR SWA PEACE

Windhoek THE WINDHOEK ADVERTISER in English 28 Apr 80 p 3

[Text]

WINDHOEK: The African Frontline States could play a vital role in ensuring that a peaceful settlement was found in SWA the AG Dr Gerrit Viljoen, said in an SATV News interview last night.

At the same time, he reiterated that Swapo could not be allowed to continue "dragging its feet" and retarding political and constitutional developments in SWA.

Dr Viljoen said he was certain that the neighbouring Black states wanted peace and stability in SWA as much as any other country did.

However, most of them, especially those who were harbouring terrorists within their borders, were themselves faced with instability and discord.

He referred to the latest influx of Angolan refugees arriving in northern SWA an example of the disorder and the problems facing neighbouring Black states.

Most states were interested in economic development and the establishment of political and economic ties between

them and an independent SWA.

"But this is difficult when you have terrorists and disorder in your country," Dr Viljoen said.

"These neighbouring states would be better able to solve their own domestic problems if they rid themselves of terrorists from other countries whom they are harbouring and of the neo colonial forces which are controlling them," he added.

Once this was done, the neighbouring countries could and would probably willingly play a vital role in helping to bring about peace and stability in SWA, he said.

Referring to the proposed holding of a UN supervised election in SWA, Dr Gerrit Viljoen said the UN's impartiality was still being seriously questioned by SA and internal SWA leaders.

Both countries, he said, were opposed to the status enjoyed by Swapo in the UN and were thus doubtful whether free elections could ever be held in the Territory under UN supervision.

Any election under UN supervision must be free and fair and the people of SWA

and the SA Government would have to be assured that such an election would be entirely free of violence and intimidation.

Dr Viljoen said it remained SA's attitude that the people of SWA must ultimately decide their own future and that the interests of the Territory must come first before its own or those of any other country.

SA was intent on ensuring that SWA became largely self-sufficient in both the political and economic spheres.

"And we cannot allow that Swapo's dragging of the feet ... causes further retardation of internal constitutional development," Dr Viljoen warned.

He added that internal leaders would have to rid themselves of the "over-moderate image" and concentrate more on a "strong-man" image in future.

Asked about second tier ethnic elections scheduled to be held later this year, Dr Viljoen said this was part of the constitutional development taking place in the Territory and would not affect the central authority of the independence process in any way. — Sapa



# NATIONAL BUDGET PRIORITIES APPRAISED

Windhoek ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG in German 28 Mar 80 p 2

[Article by Arthur Suren: "To See More Clearly..."]

[Text] In the National Assembly session which ended this week, not only constitutional but also, for the first time on a larger scale, "factual" questions were dealt with. To the latter belong draft laws for a national budget. Financial aid for nonwhite farmers and for the Namibian civil service. The national budget especially was given much preliminary praise because its final outcome will result in several measures that could contribute to improvements in the situation of the nonwhite population. However, a critical observer of these proposals and of the debates held in the National Assembly must pour a little oil on the large waves of enthusiasm. Let us consider just a few points.

To a considerable degree, the national budget is not covered by sufficient funds. A part of the budget deficit is to be covered, after all, by taking out credit which is irresponsibly large in comparison with the constant and assured income. The future government of Namibia cannot be advised to go into debt to such an extent that it is questionable whether the debt can be paid off in the future. Through measures of this kind, Namibia could slide from its current favorable economic condition into a hopeless dilemma, such as other African countries have experienced. We must therefore proceed from the assumption that measures covered by the proposed national budget will be only partially enacted because of nonexistent financial means. Nobody has stated clearly where the priorities will then be and if the measures favoring the nonwhite population can then still be enacted.

In addition there is the fact that besides the national budget we still have another budget which was decided by the heretofore white National Council and is much better covered by government income. This second budget no doubt favors the second level of the white population groups. But in the future, Namibia will have at its disposal only a definite and limited sum of income. On which level will this income actually be distributed? This distribution--as Dirk Mudge has pointed out especially--does

not even consider the costs which Namibia will have to assume from South Africa such as those of maintaining the railroad or Namibia's own army, even though it might be only a minimum of border patrol troops.

Another point in the budget that has likewise not been discussed is one that budget experts in European countries like to overlook. Any damage resulting from such oversight might be reparable in Europe, but to overlook it here in Namibia is especially dangerous for the future of the national budget. I mean the cost that results from investments. It is wrong to be proud of a high "capital budget"--one that should rather be called investment budget--where expenses for school construction, hospitals, kindergartens, road construction, etc. are planned if there is not, in addition to the investment costs, an additional accounting of the costs required for maintenance and operation of projects of this kind in future years. It would be senseless to start investments which later on cannot be kept in operation and are therefore literally built on sand.

Civil service, that is a good group of officials, is the basis for stability and continuity in any country, but especially in a democracy. The population identifies with a government more easily when it can participate in it through a corps of officials from its own ranks. This kind of identification cannot be expected if the population is administered by officials who are in fact foreigners. It is hard to understand that these simple principles could have been disregarded for so long and that only now plans are being made on how nonwhite civil servants could be trained in an institution for administrators.

In this connection we must be reminded of the fact that the Namibia Institute in Lusaka has been training for many years administrative personnel for a future Namibia controlled by SWAPO. A considerable number of well trained black administrators are already available in exile. Only that they have been trained, at the same time, in Marxism-Communism. But why should these people be rejected here in Namibia?--Let me mention on this occasion once more that the leadership of the administration and the Administrator General's office has had on their desks since the end of 1977 a detailed proposal prepared by the writer of this article on the establishment of an institution for nonwhite administrators.

As many areas as one might investigate--it has not been known for years and is therefore no longer a surprise exactly where action has to be taken to lessen the interior tensions among the population groups of Namibia. If commissions have to be established now in order to clarify what actions have to be taken, this will in fact already be too late. If these commissions should take as much time for their work as previous planning groups of the administration, the future of our country would indeed look dark.

However, it would also be wrong to be pessimistic. What we must do is to recognize dangers, then not to close our eyes before them but rather identify

them clearly. The saying that "a danger recognized is only half a danger" is by no means outdated. Therefore we can and will expect that National Assembly fractions and the political parties responsible for them--not least of all the Republican Party--will not sit around and wait for the next session of the National Assembly. They must continue their work in order to put into practical and visible actuality the plans for which the just proposed laws serve as starting points.

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CSO: 4403

CORN, MEAT, DAIRY PRICE RISE SEEN AS PROBLEM

Windhoek THE WINDHOEK ADVERTISER in English 25 Apr 80 p 7

[Text]

**BAD NEWS** such as the proposed 20 percent increase in the price of maize is to the SA consumer, is dismal tidings to the SWA consumer indeed.

The SA Housewives League has staged a strong protest to the Minister of Agriculture and Fisheries, Mr Hendrik Schoeman, but has so far been unsuccessful in its call to have the increase limited to 10 percent.

In a statement released in Cape Town, the League explained the sudden hike in terms of a bumper maize crop in SA and overproduction on the world market resulting in a R35 per ton drop in the export price, which SA consumers now have to carry.

As a result of this, price increases can now be expected on all pork and poultry products as well.

Southwesters have to carry a far heavier load than their SA consumer counterparts.

The increased rail tariffs on agricultural products announced recently - 12,2 percent - has far-reaching consequences in the Territory, considering that approximately 90 percent of locally consumed maize and maize products are imported from SA by rail.

Mr Hendrik Venter, Chairman of the Windhoek Sakekamer, pointed out that intensive dairy farming in SWA would be hard hit especially in view of the fact that the smaller farms are more prone to cost-push factors as well as being more singularly dependent on livestock feed for their business.

The problem does not end there. A climbing inflation rate and increased taxation is eating away at consumers' buying power in SWA.

According to Mr Hendrik Venter, if we can maintain in-

flation in SWA below 18 percent for the current year, it would be a fine achievement.

An independently established Poverty Datum Line for the Territory is still forthcoming, although estimates for Windhoek were published some years ago. Whatever the actual fixing may turn out to be, it can safely be assumed that a large proportion of Black people living in the urban centres are not earning a liveable wage in these terms. The fact that their staple diet is maize rather than meat-based, protracts the problem further.

The link between hunger and political revolution is a tenuous one. Fortunately, in SWA, the bulk of the population lives on a subsistence level in the northern territories where consumption cropping is a well-established economy.

Still, it pays to keep in mind the popular saying: "A hungry young man is an angry young man."

PROBLEMS WITH RUACANA, OTHER POWER PLANTS DETAILED

New Power Plant Project

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 11 Apr 80 p 17

[Text]

**WINDHOEK —** The R195-million Ruacana hydro-electric power scheme, which has so far failed to meet SWA/Namibia's electricity needs will be overtaken in less than three years by a new R70-million emergency project.

Already written off in certain quarters as a "white elephant," the giant installation on the SWA/Namibian border with Angola will almost certainly become redundant once the new plan takes effect.

Political uncertainty surrounding the hydro-electric scheme, has been a point of delicate diplomatic negotiation between the South African and Angolan Governments for some years.

It has forced authorities to avoid a power crisis in the territory by adopting an alternative plan — the piping of Escom power from the Cape to Windhoek.

The operation of Ruacana's generator turbines was irregular and unreliable because the scheme depended on the co-operation of the hostile MPLA regime, until 12 men led by a local pilot, Captain Jacques Migeotte, sneaked into Angola in January

this year, without authorisation, to divert the Kunene River's waters towards the turbines.

"The importance of the Ruacana scheme will very definitely decline once the cable from Aggeneys in the north-western Cape to Windhoek is completed at the end of 1983" Mr J P Brand, head of the SWA Water and Electricity Corporation, said in an interview.

"Ruacana will then not really be necessary to run SWA/Namibia for the next 10 years at least. We could do without it.

"But to say that it is a white elephant is wrong. Any source of energy can

never be permanently redundant in a world facing an energy crisis," he said.

Mr Brand said Swawec could perhaps look in the 1990s to exporting energy if the uncertainty plaguing the hydro-electric scheme could be settled.

"With the cable bringing in Escom power and the Van Eck coal-fired power station near Windhoek, Ruacana running full time would mean an excess of electricity," he said.

Mr Brand said Escom would finance the 800 km, 160 megawatt cable from Aggeneys to the Orange River where SWA/Namibian authorities would take over the costs to pipe it to Windhoek.

"The cable's primary value will be that it will provide a sure source of power to SWA/Namibia. It will also provide the main towns in the south of the territory with much cheaper electricity."

Centres such as Keetmanshoop and Mariental,

which rely on diesel power and are not on the Ruacana power grid, are currently paying about 15c a unit for electricity.

The blowing up of two pylons south of Ruacana last week by Swapo saboteurs highlighted the threatening power crisis in SWA/Namibia.

Swawec immediately switched to the Van Eck station, which costs about R300 000 a day to run, and the Windhoek and Walvis Bay power plants, which are generally regarded as too old to be reliable.

### Pylons Sabotaged

Windhoek WINDHOEK OBSERVER in English 12 Apr 80 p 12

[Text]

WINDHOEK: Swapo insurgents blew up two pylons sustaining the high tension lines at a point about 50 km south of Ruacana.

Confirming this the General Manager of Swawec, Mr J.P. Brand, told the Observer that the sabotage occurred near midnight on Wednesday of last week. The violence of the explosions pulled down another three pylons because the two toppling pylons with the high tension cables, pulled the other supports with them.

Mr Brand said an estimate of damage was not possible at this stage but he could confirm that it was "very substantial".

Asked if the high tension lines were carrying

a number of megawatts at the time of the explosion, he nodded and said "quite a number", which implied that Ruacana was in operation.

Mr Brand said that one could describe the explosion used as dynamite or plastic charges. It was the third time that Swapo insurgents successfully sabotaged with high explosives.

Immediately after the explosions, working teams were summoned, some of them from depots far from Ruacana. The team was already in the process of restoring the lines, and Mr Brand estimated that work would be completed within a week to ten days, calculated from Tuesday of this week.



## Protection From Sabotage Needed

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 22 Apr 80 p 3

[Text]

**WINDHOEK.** — The powerline that was blown up by Swapo terrorists on Sunday night, plunging Windhoek and most of South West Africa into darkness, is not likely to be repaired unless the SWA Electricity and Water Supply Corporation receives an assurance that it can be effectively guarded, the general manager of the corporation, Mr Polla Brand, said in Windhoek.

The 500 km line leads power from the Ruacana hydro-electric scheme.

Power to most of SWA was back to normal yesterday, from thermal stations.

About two weeks ago, the power supply from Ruacana was also disrupted after Swapo terrorists had blown up the line. Mr Brand said repairs to the line had only been completed last Wednesday.

He told the Windhoek morning newspaper, Die Republikein, on Sunday night that power from Ruacana was inexpensive, but continuous repair costs to the line might in future become prohibitive.

He said it was doubtful if the power line would be repaired again unless the corporation received assurances that the line could be effectively guarded.

A total blackout enveloped Windhoek, Walvis Bay and all the larger centres in the northern half of SWA at about 7.15 pm on Sunday.

In Windhoek it lasted for about 4.5 hours and at Walvis Bay about 1.5 hours.

Electricity was supplied yesterday by the big Van Eck thermal power station north of Windhoek and local thermal power plants.

The delay in restoring power on Sunday night was thought to have been the result of bringing the thermal power stations up to full supply level.

Hospitals reported that they had switched to their own emergency power supplies and no disruption had been reported. Sapa.

## Military Protection Said Costly

Windhoek THE WINDHOEK ADVERTISER in English 24 Apr 80 p 1

[Text]

THE UNDECIDED issue of military protection for the Swawek powerline from Ruacana to Windhoek seems to have become the proverbial "hot potato." If unresolved, it could mean an electricity tariff hike of between 19 and 20 percent for electricity consumers.

In an interview with a daily newspaper at the beginning of this week, Mr Polla Brand, Chief Executive of Swawek, said that the powerline had only been repaired a number of days before Swapo terrorists blew up a pylon again.

Unless SWAWEK was guaranteed protection of this line, he had said, it would not be repaired and consumers would probably have to face a price hike because of increased coal and railway tariffs.

It was also reported that SWAWEK would meet the AG and the SADF to discuss the matter of protection for this powerline. Mr Brand said that if this protection was not

forthcoming, it was doubtful whether repairs would be done. The costs and risk was just too high.

Unconfirmed reports have it that the meeting was to have taken place yesterday and that military protection was refused.

This morning, when the Advertiser contacted Mr Brand about the matter, he indicated that the issue was by no means finalised and that he did not wish to comment at this stage.

Questions in the same vein addressed to military spokesmen also proved to be futile. They said they had no knowledge of any meeting and

that they could not comment on the question of military protection for Swawek.

Mr Piet Coetzer of the AG's office however, did confirm that a meeting had taken place - but he categorically denied that military protection for the powerline had been refused.

During the past at times when the Kunene River was in full flood, sufficient water entered the pressure tunnel at the hydro-electric scheme to have one or two of the four turbines commissioned.

But on the night of January 6 this year, the scour gate was closed in the weir and Ruacana began to operate at a high optimum, supplying cheap electricity for the Territory.

With four massive turbines, Ruacana has a capacity of 320 megowatts, while the Van Eck power station near Windhoek has a 90 megowatt capacity.

CSO: 4420

FRENCH FINANCING OF MAURITIAN REFINERY CRITICIZED

Saint Denis TMOIGNAGES in French 6 Mar 80 p 1

[Editorial: "The Policy of Nondevelopment"]

[Text] The petroleum refinery "affair"--which has justifiably caused a stir on our island--has laid bare the crucial problem of our island: the problem of its development.

The outcry raised by the supporters of departmentalization because of the fact that a credit institution--with the agreement of the French Government--is going to finance 80 percent of the construction in Mauritius of a petroleum refinery (at an estimated cost of 70 billion old francs) demonstrates either their duplicity or their shortsightedness.

Under the system advocated by the "departmentalists," money is impersonal and recognizes no national boundaries. When capitalists speak of projects they are speaking of profits; and if the road to maximum profits does not pass through Reunion, well then--the capitalists pass Reunion by!

In the light of the foregoing, the decision by the French Government to facilitate the construction of the oil refinery in Mauritius is fraught with consequences for Reunion. In such a crucial industrial sector--and given the fact that Reunion will be the principal consumer of the petroleum marketed by the future refinery--we can see that any possibility of our country's obtaining an installation of this type has vanished for a long time to come.

Our island is losing the opportunity for the creation of jobs that is provided by the construction of a refinery and by all the other activities that derive therefrom (secondary industries such as plastics, among others).

Reunion is also losing an important source of financing for the future port at which the petroleum products will be discharged by the tankers.

The damage will appear even more serious, however, when the "refinery affair" is reexamined in the context of the series of similar decisions that the French Government has taken in our region.

The fact is that while talking up a storm on the subject of the industrialization of Reunion, the government is taking away one by one all of our country's opportunities to industrialize.

"The installation in Mauritius of a petroleum refinery--a refinery on which Reunion will be dependent--means that for decades our country will be denied access to this industrial sector.

"The installation by France of a large fish cannery capable of meeting the requirements of regional consumption means that this sector is closed to Reunion for decades.

"We may also point out that the crucial fertilizer sector had already been lost to Reunion, whose economy is basically agricultural." [Foregoing quoted material not identified as to source]

It is obvious that the policy followed by the French Government is a policy of impasse--a policy of industrial nondevelopment for our island.

This policy disregards the interests of Reunion and of the people of Reunion; it deliberately destroys our island's opportunities for development.

Only a democratic autonomy--a people's autonomy--will meet the requirements of the development of our country. The "affair" of the oil refinery has just confirmed this fact dramatically.

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CSO: 4400

'ECONOMIC DEPARTMENTALIZATION' CRITICIZED AS FAILURE

Saint Denis TEMOIGNAGES in French 6 Mar 80 p 1

[Article: "The 'Economic Departmentalization' of Reunion Is Already 'Out of Breath'"]

[Text] Reunion's economy is in a full-fledged crisis, a crisis which is apparent in all sectors. Every aspect of agriculture is experiencing a recession. Production in every category of crop is declining: geranium, khushkus, vanilla, tobacco, corn, food crops, stock raising and others--even sugar, despite the so-called plan for modernization of the sugar industry.

Need we remind our readers that Reunion's sugar production in 1979 was less than that of 1978? The results for this year will be even poorer than those of last year. We did have "Hyacinth," to be sure; but any attempt to use the hurricane to explain these declines is to have only a partial view of the situation--a view lacking in objectivity. Reunion is in the midst of a crisis primarily because of its political and economic structures. That is the most important fact. The same thing is true in industry, which is also experiencing a recession. Factories are closing. Businesses are going bankrupt. Layoffs are continuing.

So nothing is going right any more. If you want to explain the "why" of this situation you must necessarily direct your attention toward the policy that has been put into effect in this country.

The "departmentalists" do not deny that these catastrophic results have occurred. They do not want to admit, however, that their policies are to blame, and so they invent new formulas in an attempt to win a reprieve. The most recent of these formulas is "economic departmentalization."

To hear the departmentalists tell it, what has taken place to date is "administrative departmentalization," followed by "social departmentalization," and now they are "setting their sights on" the economy.

For several years the departmentalists have incessantly pointed to this or that new small enterprise created at Saint Denis, Saint Pierre, Le Port or elsewhere.

These enterprises are the object of official visits whenever a cabinet minister or a secretary of state is passing through. More than one town has been endowed with what is sometimes pompously called an "industrial zone."

In short, here you have "economic departmentalization" in full swing.

When you look more closely at the real results of all these theatrics, however, you will perceive that they are quite meager.

For example, in drawing up a balance sheet for the last 4 years of this "economic departmentalization" Serge Payet, secretary general of COLIER (Idaision Committee on the Economic Interests of Reunion, Reunion Employers Union), declared that "the relatively vigorous industrialization" of Reunion created only 2,500 jobs over a period of 4 years.

This figure of 2,500 jobs has significance only when compared with the country's needs.

These needs are very great, and everyone understands that 2,500 jobs in 4 years is like a drop of water in the ocean of unemployment: it amounts to an average of about 620 jobs per year.

At the same time, we know that approximately 10,000 young people are entering the job market each year, and a very large proportion of them are therefore swelling the ranks of those already unemployed.

Moreover, to these 10,000 young people we must add those persons who were previously employed but are now being laid off.

The Labor Inspection service has just made public the number of employed persons who were laid off during the past 6 months exclusively for economic reasons. This total comes to approximately 1,200 workers (1,176, to be specific).

In other words, if you compare the number of jobs created by industrialization (under the program of "economic departmentalization") with the number of workers laid off for economic reasons you find that four times as many workers have been laid off as there have been new jobs created.

Even more disturbing, however, is the recent statement by the chairman of COLIER, who pointedly said that the industrialization of Reunion needed to "get its second wind."

So we see that the process of "economic departmentalization"--having only just begun--is already "out of breath." The departmentalists will have to find another slogan, another gimmick.



OIL WORKERS STRIKE SOLUTION SOUGHT

Saint Denis TMOIGNAGES in French 6 Mar 80 p 1

[Text] The workers of the SRPP [expansion unknown] (Shell and ELF [Gasoline and Lubricants Company of France]) continued their strike action this morning despite the decision of the prefectural administration last Friday to resort to the conscription of personnel in an effort to break the strike.

At ESSO--which was also on strike last week--discussions were held Friday evening and continued until very late. These talks led to a solution, and the agreement that was reached demonstrated the validity of the demands made not only by the personnel of ESSO but also by those of the SRPP. The SRPP personnel, in fact, are demanding payment of a cost of living allowance to compensate for the higher cost of living in Reunion vis-a-vis that prevailing in France--a fact which is acknowledged in the agreement signed Friday.

Specifically, the agreement provides for a supplementary allowance of 4 percent pending announcement of the conclusions reached by the "Aymart commission," which is charged with studying the cost of living in Reunion for the purpose of making a more precise calculation of wages and salaries.

The agreement reached Friday at ESSO should therefore open the way for a negotiated solution of the dispute at the SRPP, with allowance being made for the special conditions prevailing at that enterprise.

The SRPP personnel will meet this morning at CGTR [General Confederation of Labor of Reunion] headquarters in Le Port. The proprietors of the petroleum companies will be received by Labor Inspection and government representatives.

10992

CSO: 4400

## SENEGAL

### FIFTY PERCENT PEANUT CROP LOSS SUFFERED

Dakar LE SOLEIL in French 12 Mar 80 p 4

[Text] Diourbel (APS). From the hearing presided over on 4 March by Governor Boubacar Cisse, who was assisted by his aides and technicians from the regional rural development agency, it appears that the Diourbel disaster, initially estimated at 30 percent, surpasses by far 50 percent of the peanut production.

In a normal year, the region produces up to 140,000 tons of peanuts. Based on surveys and tests conducted by the technicians, the regional production was estimated at 83,000 tons. The realists had thus given everyone something to look forward to. The more pessimistic were expecting this figure which, according to some, might even be exceeded.

On 4 March, during the ninth week of commercialization, controlled production had failed to reach 60,000 tons. To harvest another approximately 6,000 tons, the head of the regional management, The National Office of Cooperation and Assistance for Development (ONCAD), pumped 160 million francs into the system, which will send to the silo bins the necessary weight of the actual tonnage of 65,437 tons.

With respect to the estimates, the deficit to be made up will be of approximately 18,000 tons, a weight that might be found on the floors in the form of reserve seed or of oil stocks resulting from triburation, once again being practiced here and there.

#### Deficit

Now if one refers to the production of a normal year, one will note that the deficit by far exceeds 50 percent, a fact proved by the figures. Out of a production of 140,000 tons, only 65,000 tons are being harvested, and 75,000 tons are being lost, a phenomenon which, moreover, has been understood and controlled by the government, which has strongly moderated the rates to be reimbursed in order to conserve the purchase power of our working masses.

In the area of food the losses are less alarming, even though the region is likewise burdened with having to make good its losses of supplies.

ONCAD was right in sheltering the peanuts from the rains which came pouring down at the beginning of March in the region. According to the head of the regional administration, already 2,593 tons have been evacuated in the direction of the Electric and Industrial Company of Baol (SEIB) and towards the oilmen of Dakar. So as not to be caught short and to encourage the good payers, ONCAD has put the requested weight of fertilizer at the level of the cooperatives.

To have a right to the farm P.A., the cooperatives are invited to settle their debts to the amount of 80 or 90 percent. Those in the 80 to 100 percent bracket will thus be able to be served according to their requests spelled out within the framework of the 1980-81 farm program.

9589

CSO: 4400

BOTHA'S OPTIONS, FUTURE PROBLEMS, SOLUTIONS DISCUSSED

Leftwing Dissent, Military Option

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 13 Apr 80 p 4

[Article by Fleur de Villiers]

[Text]

**LEFTWING** Afrikaner dissent with the policies of Mr P W Botha surfaced dramatically this week when, in the heartland of Nationalist Afrikanerdom, Stellenbosch students openly challenged a Nationalist Prime Minister.

The meeting, attended by about 1 800 students in the giant D F Malan auditorium at Stellenbosch University, was subsequently described as "political theatre" by a leading Afrikaner academic.

There was drama in the air as students walked up to the rostrum to face the Prime Minister and a supporting phalanx of MPs and university authorities to question Mr Botha on his refusal to release Nelson Mandela.

There was laughter when Mr Botha described the South African Press as one of the most free in the world, and there was anger when he turned on his student tormentors to tell them to get back to their books and to treat their Prime Minister with more respect.

And in the end Mr Botha, far from the Western Cape remains the strongest bastion of support in a hostile verbrampte world, failed to win the customary unanimous show of support from his audience.

The entire event, said a seasoned Stellenbosch observer, would have been unthinkable five years ago when students would not have dared to show open dissent. And when a Nationalist Prime Minister would not have thought it necessary to persuade a Nationalist audience of the necessity of defending South Africa.

The change reflects more than a shift in the thinking of the young Afrikaner elite who no longer regard the State as a cultural father and economic patron, and who instead are beginning to question the legitimacy of the entire South African political system.

□ □ □

It also reflects a growing doubt in verligte Afrikaner ranks about whether Mr

Botha has any clear idea where he is leading South Africa.

It is a question which is beginning to crop up with increasing frequency in political circles and in the columns of Nationalist commentators — and it is in many ways a mirror image of the fears expressed by conservative Nationalists whose resistance to Mr Botha's leadership is growing in direct proportion to his refusal to cross the t's and dot the i's of his policy programme.

The verligte excitement which greeted Mr Botha last year as he stomped the country proclaiming the necessity of reform is giving way to an uneasy doubt as to whether the emperor has any policy clothes.

The endless restatement of his 13-point plan which has been described as bland as apple pie and motherhood no longer provides any comfort in the dark watches of the night for verligtes who know that repeated vague promises of change do nothing but frustrate blacks and excite the fears of conservative whites.

On the platteland, where Mr Botha's support is weakening dramatically, once loyal Nationalists are falling victim to the rumours of a Dr Mulder and the reassurances of a Dr Treurnicht.

"Mr Botha can only outflank Dr Treurnicht if he moves fast enough," a verligte academic said this week.

"By treading water he can only lose as his position erodes to both the right and the left."

□ □ □

And he reflected on the historic irony that the last three South African Premiers had each been let down by the talent they cherished most.

"Dr Verwoerd, the intellectual giant, tried and failed to give apartheid intellectual content. Mr Vorster prided himself on his ability to judge people and ended up with Dr Mulder.

"Mr Botha is the arch-political strategist — but his tactics are failing him.

"On Thursday night he asked the right questions: where South Africa was going, whether it was employing all its human and material resources and whether it had defensible political goals. And once again he failed to answer them.

"Instead, he quoted from the preamble to the South African Constitution, recalled the 12-point plan and referred to the constellation of states."

It was not, the academic suggested, food to feed the troops, especially from a Prime Minister who apparently lacked the ability to either inspire or cow a student audience.

And the doubts are reinforced by Mr Botha's — possibly tactical — emphasis on the unity between him and Dr Treurnicht, an emphasis which erodes trust in the Prime Minister's reformist drive.

Indeed, the only reform which Mr Botha has explicitly embraced — that of economic change promoted by a go-for-growth Budget — has done nothing to satisfy the doubts of some of his supporters.

The Budget will, if successful, unleash economic change that must lead to pressures for social and political change of a size and scope unknown in South Africa.

□ □ □

It will throw up a new and certainly tougher generation of black and coloured political leaders with whom Mr Botha must be prepared to bargain and negotiate on the political future of South Africa.

But a Prime Minister who thus far has resolutely refused to commit himself specifically to those basic issues on which black and the majority of white South Africans can reach consensus — a common fatherland, common citizenship and civil rights for all — has shown no sign as yet that he is prepared for the consequences of his actions.

The Stellenbosch students who this week asked Mr Botha if he was prepared to deal with effective black leaders and why he had opted for the retrogressive step of a nominated Coloured Persons' Council simply echoed the concerns of a growing number of white South Africans. And the Prime Minister's angry response did nothing to calm the fears of the verligtes — the only group of Afrikaners on whom he can rely for unqualified support.

As a leading Afrikaner commented this week: Any constitutional development acceptable to blacks, coloureds and Indians must lead to a split in the ranks of Nationalist Afrikanerdom. In an effort to avert that split Mr Botha may yet, it is said, decide as a last resort to employ the military option — suspend the constitution and give everyone time to cool off while a new constitution is hammered out in the political vacuum.

That scenario — one which is being widely canvassed and debated in informed Nationalist circles — has heightened the tensions in Nationalist ranks as left and right worry about the blurring of the borders between the political and military establishment.

It is a concern which can only be assuaged by clear answers to the questions which Mr Botha himself has raised — and thus far has refused to answer.

(Report by Fleur de Villiers, Press Gallery House of Assembly, Cape Town.)

## Mandella Issue

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 12 Apr 80 p 6

[Editorial: "Open Options on Mandela"]

[Text]

**N**OBODY can seriously expect Mr Botha to react positively and immediately to the current "Free Mandela" campaign. Governments, and particularly governments which try to foster an image of strength, do not respond to popular pressures all that easily.

What thinking South Africans do expect is that the Prime Minister should display a reasonable, open mind on the issue. Whether he likes it or not, the jailed ANC leader is still a major force in the politics of South Africa's black majority. No amount of tough talk will change that situation. In fact, it tends to enhance Nelson Mandela's image rather than diminish it.

For these reasons it is unfortunate that Mr Botha chose to respond so vehemently to serious questions on Mandela when he spoke at Stellenbosch University on Thursday. Calling him "an arch marxist supported by marxists from Moscow," the Prime Minister said: "I can't see why I must break the law myself and free a man whose attitude is that he wants to overthrow this sovereign and independent state."

These statements need qualification. Robey Leibbrandt was freed by a Nationalist government after being sentenced to death for conspiring against the State. Nelson Mandela turned to violence only after years of frustrated non-violent struggle. And what precisely are his views today, nearly two decades later?

Circumstances change; sooner or later the Government will have to negotiate with Mandela or his political heirs, as white Rhodesians had to deal with Robert Mugabe. Mr Botha is unwise to put himself in so extreme a position on Mandela. He will need more flexible options.



## Alan Paton Article

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 16 Apr 80 p 18

[Article by Alan Paton]

[Text]

Undoubtedly one of the most important developments of the 'seventies' was the awakening of Afrikanerdom to the realities of the world in which it is placed.

To what realities was it an awakening? To put it dramatically it was an awakening to the fact that the great fortress of Afrikanerdom was becoming its prison, and that if it became a prison there would be no way out.

It was an awakening to the fact that the Groenouwepark Plan wasn't going to work, that there would be no turning of the tide back towards the homelands, that the Natives Land Act of 1913 was an error, that the altering of the Cape franchise was an even greater error.

It was an awakening to the fact that Black Power, Black Consciousness, was becoming a political force, and White South Africa could no longer prevent the interference of the outside world in her so-called "domestic policies".

There was a belated recognition of the harshness and injustices of the Great Plan, and the inhumanity of many of the so-called "resettlements". In a different category altogether was the realisation that exclusion from world sport was a much more painful thing than it was thought it would be.

I should like to say that I believe there has been and there is continuing to be, an Afrikaner awakening. It may be too late and too slow, but I do not believe it is cosmetic,

tokenistic, intended to deceive. In any case you can't deceive anyone any more. I shall cite only one proof of these contentions, and that is the report of the Cillie Commission.

I must also say that I regard Mr P W Botha as a convert to this enlightenment. If there is to be an evolutionary 'way out' he will play a great part in it.

That Mr P W Botha wants to find a way out I have no doubt. He said last year at Upington that he wanted to create a society that would offer security and a future for every child, white, black and brown.

No other Prime Minister has ever spoken in such a way before. Will he find a way out? No one can answer that question. All we can do is to discuss his chances.

What are the factors that could prevent our finding a way out? I shall mention four:

1. A retreat on the part of Mr Botha. I don't think it likely. But he has two grave personal weaknesses, and one grave weakness in his political philosophy. I wish that he had a more even temper, and I wish that he would learn to take criticism.

- I wish that he had a different attitude to our security legislation, especially to the banning of people without recourse to the courts, and to detention without trial and detention without access.

In other words, I wish

that he understood the importance of the rule of law to a society that claims to be civilised. Dr Nico Diederichs, the philosopher-prophet of Afrikanerdom, wrote more than 30 years ago — "love of nation is not in the first place love of people, territories, or states, but rather love of the ever-prevailing values on which the nation is based." Neither he nor Mr P W Botha understood that the rule of law was one of these values. But Mr Botha still has time to learn. However, I do not think he will or can retreat from the position he has taken on the need for social and political change.

2. The defeat of Mr Botha by the right wing of Afrikanerdom. If this happened that would mean the end of Afrikanerdom and the end of our white tenancy in Africa. Then factors three and four would come into operation. I myself do not foresee the defeat of Mr Botha, but I earnestly wish that he would dismiss Dr Treurnicht as soon as possible. For one thing I do not think that the Broederbond would allow Mr Botha's defeat.

3. The political triumph of black radicalism, leading to internal revolution. We can expect a continuance of terrorism, and of the general black attitude towards it, the revelation of which has shocked many white South Africans. We can expect a continuance of black de-

mands for greater participation, and of the growth of black consciousness. But I do not expect an outbreak of anything that could be called revolution, unless factor four comes into operation.

4. External intervention. If this happened, Russia and Cuba would spearhead it, with the aid no doubt of Nigeria, Libya, and East Germany, but not Egypt or Ethiopia, who have enough problems of their own. At the moment, Angola, Mozambique, and

Zimbabwe would not participate.

A milder though not pleasant form of intervention would be international sanctions, from which the Western nations could only with difficulty abstain.

If there were military external intervention then there would be internal revolution. I think Mr Botha and his generals know this well, and I think they know well that only internal political and social change can lessen the

chances of internal revolution.

And I hope with all my heart that white leaders will be able to convince black leaders of their sincerity and their determination.

I repeat — because it is of the utmost importance — that Mr Botha will not be able to make effective political and social changes so long as he keeps Dr Treurnicht in his Cabinet. He faces the intensely difficult challenge of putting the country before the party.

### Multiple Partition Idea

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 16 Apr 80 p 3

[Article by Patrick Laurence]

[Text]

THE critical interests of whites and blacks are irreconcilable within a common political system, irrespective of whether it is a unitary or a federal system, according to Professor Anthony de Crespigny, of the University of Cape Town.

"Whites seek to maintain their economic standards, their freedoms, their power, their cultural identities and their status," he writes in the latest issue of the South African Bureau of Racial Affairs publication, *Journal of Racial Affairs*.

"Blacks, on the other hand, seek the dominant political position to which they think their numbers entitle them, the land and opportunities of which they feel deprived, and a status more conducive to a sense of their own worth.

"If they get much of what they most of all want, the whites cannot get much of what they most of all want — and conversely.

"Many important claims of blacks and whites are therefore incompatible, and in the predictable future there is no possibility of a settlement that would seem just to both groups."

Prof De Crespigny, who is professor of political science at UCT, argues the case for "multiple partition" of South Africa as the only viable solution to its race problem.

By multiple partition he means partition of the country into several consolidated black territories or homelands, rather than division of South Africa into two states, one for blacks and the other for non-blacks.

He looks at and rejects as unworkable the two "most widely canvassed alternatives to partition" — majoritarian democracy (or majority rule) and consociational democracy (or shared power between the most important groups).

He identifies the concentration of power in Afrikaner hands as one of the key obstacles to majority rule.

"The Government can rely on the support of armed forces, regular and non-regular, which are strong and loyal, and, in spite of some recent relaxations, the economy is under highly centralised direction.

"The Government will use its massive power to ensure that basic Afrikaner interests are fully protected and it will

continue to believe (and rightly so) that both black rule and 'proportional representation' within a single state are wholly incompatible with such protection."

Consoational democracy, which the Progressive Federal Party favours in broad terms, is unlikely to work in "highly heterogeneous societies", Prof De Crespigny says.

He had earlier referred to a survey of 133 states, which showed that in more than 50 there were five or more significant ethnic groups: "Of these South Africa was the most complex."

He quotes the Dutch political scientist, Arendt Lijphart, who is a leading theorist of consociational democracy, as saying: "In extreme cases of plu-

ral societies, such as South Africa, the outlook for democracy of any kind is poor."

In stating the case for "multiple partition by way of large-scale consolidation of the homelands", Prof De Crespigny lists what he sees as the advantages which would flow from partition on these lines.

One is that "blacks and whites might well prefer to be bullied and misgoverned by 'their own' people to being tolerantly treated by rulers whom they regard as fundamentally alien."

He does not deal with the practical problems posed by partitioning of South Africa or with the failure of partition *per se* to resolve the conflicts of Ireland, Palestine and India.

BOTHA MUST DECIDE SOON ON NAMIBIA COURSE

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 12 Apr 80 p 4

[Article by Allister Sparks: "SWA Policy Is in Ruins as the Spotlight Shifts There"]

[Text]

DOES the Government any longer have a policy for South West Africa?

It seems not.

And the troubling thing is that this policy vacuum occurs just when international pressures on South West Africa are about to start building up towards a climax. With the Rhodesian issue out of the way, the spotlight is going to swing to SWA as the next priority issue — indeed as the last unliberated colony on the African continent.

This intensified pressure is going to bear down on South Africa — at a time when the Government appears to have nothing better than an Ian-Smith-type policy of stall and delay.

Until a few months ago the Government had a clearly discernible policy: indeed it had two, which it kept going simultaneously to keep its options open.

It was essentially a policy aimed at achieving a "Muzorewa solution" in SWA. The Democratic Turnhalle Alliance was the instrument whereby it was hoped that a moderate government could take over the territory in circumstances that could gain at least a measure of international recognition.

The first prize — to borrow again from Ian Smith — would be to have an agreement with the United Nations leading to internationally supervised elections, the outcome of which the international community would then be committed to recognising.

The Government, with its deep-rooted belief that ethnicity is the real driving force in black politics, was confident the DTA could win such an election — just as the white Rhodesians were confident Muzorewa would win.

Its assessment was that Swapo's support was confined to the Ovambos in the north, who constitute just under half the population. Therefore an alliance of other ethnic groups could win. Particularly since the Government was also convinced that Swapo was rapidly on the decline in Ovamboland, too, as ethnic politics took root there and the DTA gained in prestige.

Moreover, an incumbent internal administration would surely enjoy a further electoral advantage — and so the DTA was eased into this position while the negotiations with the Western Five and the UN dragged on.

But there was also an alternative to this first prize which the Government carefully nurtured — both to strengthen its hand in the negotiations and to keep its own options open.

This was the concept of an "internal settlement" or UDI. It was based on the assessment that both the Thatcher Government and the United States Congress were moving towards straightforward recognition of the "internal settlement" with Bishop Muzorewa in Zimbabwe Rhodesia.

Once the major Western powers had done that, the thinking went, it would be a short step to their being prepared to do likewise in SWA. There would be a surge of Western opinion in favour of deals which handed over power to black moderates to the exclusion of the "Marxist" guerrilla movements.

But this entire strategy has now disintegrated in the wake of events in Rhodesia.

The disintegration began when the Thatcher Government decided not simply to recognise the Muzorewa Government but to go for the Lancaster House deal instead.

Although the clear intention was that a Muzorewa Government would still emerge, possibly in coalition with Joshua Nkomo, this decision put paid to the prospect of Britain and the United States setting the all-important precedent of recognising an "internal settlement".

Indeed it amounted to an acknowledgement that this was not on — and so eliminated the hope of a follow-through on SWA.

This explains why the South African Government was so upset when it first heard about Lancaster House, even though Britain was assuring it that everything would still be alright.

But it was, of course, Robert Mugabe's landslide victory and the annihilation of Bishop Muzorewa that finally shattered the Government's SWA policy.

The stark message from Rhodesia is that black leaders who collaborate with the white overlord become fatally tainted, while the leaders of the guerrilla struggle become popular heroes.

The "internal" leaders may get the votes when there is no-one else to vote for; but in an election in which all parties participate it is the African nationalists who are going to get the mass support.

So suddenly the prospect of the DTA winning internationally supervised elections looks remote. Even allowing for the much more complex ethnic structure of SWA, the expectation now must be that the Swapo leader, Sam Nujoma, would win — if not exactly as Mugabe did, then at least comfortably.

Indeed even the Government has publicly acknowledged that the outlook has changed. A year ago it claimed Swapo had only about 5% support; in London last week the Administrator-General, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, said it might have 40%.

And Professor Gerhard Totemeyer, South Africa's leading academic specialist on SWA, who has just returned from a visit to the territory, has no doubt that Swapo would win more than 50% of the vote — and that the DTA is now tainted with a Muzorewa image.

This confronts the Government with a difficult choice: Must it allow an election to take place with the likelihood that Nujoma would win, or must it hang on in SWA and become ever more deeply involved in a no-win war?

Either way the implications are unattractive for Mr P W Botha.

To hand over this territory to any black regime, however moderate, would be difficult enough for a Nationalist Government which has steeped its followers in the racial ideology and political machismo of apartheid. But to hand it over to a leader who has been portrayed as a Marxist monster is almost unthinkable.

Not only would it allow the "Red menace" to close in on yet another frontier of South Africa, but it would be seen as an act of betrayal of the white Afrikaners of SWA.

These people have close ties with the National Party of South Africa. And Mr Botha has troubles enough as it is in the party with a growing revolt against his verligte leadership; it is doubtful whether he could survive a "sellout" to Nujoma.

Yet the alternative of hanging in there is hardly more attractive. South Africa's military commanders have always accepted that there could be no "military solution" in SWA. They have seen the army's task as being merely to hold the line while a political solution was worked out.

But if the only possible political solution is an unacceptable one, what then?

It means South Africa will become locked in to an endless defensive operation beyond her own borders, the cumulative human cost and sheer aimlessness of which must eventually take its toll on morale.

No government facing the prospect of an ultimate assault on its own home base could want to get into such a situation.

It is because both these alternatives are so unattractive that Mr Botha is baulking at making a choice. He is simply playing for time, nit-picking in negotiations to drag them out, hoping like Mr Micawber that something will turn up — a Reagan Administration in the US perhaps, although even that would not alter his dilemma to any meaningful extent.

But it is no good playing for time when time is not on your side. With every month that passes the pressures on SWA are going to intensify now that it is the number one target. And as those pressures intensify, so will Swapo's status increase and the DTA's decline — and the military situation grow more sticky.

Such a situation would be difficult enough for any Government in South Africa, but it is doubly so for one which over the years has inculcated such rigid attitudes among its own followers that it cannot now move to meet the challenges of these difficult times without splitting.

So in SWA as in South Africa itself Mr Botha will sooner or later have to make a decision: either the interests of South Africa or of National Party unity must come first.



COLORED MODERATES BEING ALIENATED BY POLICY

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 10 Apr 80 p 22

[Article by Hugh Leggatt]

[Text] The Government's intention wholly to appoint members to what was the Coloured People's "Parliament" has so angered the coloured community that moderates are being driven into the radical camp.

A broad spectrum of the coloured leadership including, significantly, academics who previously removed themselves from purely political questions have spoken out against the creation of the Coloured Persons Council.

The Government's position--that it scrapped the Coloured Person's Representative Council in response to requests to do so and is creating the CPC as an interim measure--makes no difference.

The denunciations of the CPC, whether as interim or not, by coloured leaders indicates that the Government may have badly misjudged coloured opinion and the mood of the community.

The depth of feeling is most sharply highlighted by the fact that erstwhile moderates and those branded in the past by coloured militants as "sell-outs" and "collaborators" are among those in the forefront of condemnation of the CPC.

It seems that anti-apartheid, anti-government feelings have solidified to the extent that those who were recognised as being ambivalent to government policy appear to be joining the militants.

A host of University of the Western Cape academics, including the Rector, Professor R.E. Van der Ross, have expressed resentment.

Professor Van der Ross, who formed the Coloured Labour Party in 1967 but who later, through his work for the coloured education department and his acceptance of the top post of an "apartheid" university, the University of the Western Cape, came to be seen as a sell-out, has now "come all the way" according to one coloured leader.

Other academics, such as Mr Franklin Sonn, Professor Jakes Gerwel, Mr Jimmy Ellis, and Mr Henry Briedenkamp, all of the UWC, have been regarded by the coloured left as middle-of-the-road establishment people. They, too, appear to have hardened against the Government because of the CPC.

The leader of the majority Labour Party, the Rev Alan Hendrickse, said the outspokenness of academics was a symptom of "a change in the coloured community.

"In my recent travels and contact, I have confirmed the view that there is a complete rejection also by moderate people of local standing of the CPC. They say that the only people who serve on the council will be those who do so for their own gain and prestige."

CSO: 4420

## JANSON ADDRESSES KWAZULU ASSEMBLY, PRAISES CONSTELLATION IDEA

Johannesburg, RAND DAILY MAIL, in English 17 Apr 80 p 2

[Text]

ULUNDI - The proposed constellation of Southern African states would grow into a form of confederation that would be a model to the world, the Minister of National Education and of Sport and Recreation, Mr Punt Jansen, said yesterday.

He was speaking at the opening of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly in Ulundi.

"Our national goals are clearer now than ever before and what is needed more than anything is for men of goodwill from all sides to work together in a spirit of understanding for the common good of us all."

"May our mutual aim\* to live in harmony in Southern Africa as children of Southern Africa, as nations of Southern Africa with a common patriotism, be fulfilled."

"May we look forward to the day when all the peoples of the various nations, all the black states in South Africa, will be free from prejudice and hatred and, as individual states in Southern Africa, orbit safely and soundly within a constellation of Southern African states, each with its own citizens, within its own orbit and in such a manner that none will clash with each other, nor explode and be scattered, but be bound

and held together by the gravitation of a common strong, flourishing and interdependent economy, as well as a common trust and nationalism, cemented together by a common patriotism within the constellation, which will grow into some form of confederation - a model to the world."

Mr Jansen said it should be clear by now to even the most sceptical people that those countries which decried South Africa's efforts to solve its domestic problems were motivated only by self-interest.

"There can be no doubt that for stability in South Africa it is we ourselves who must find the solutions to our national problems."

Emphasising the importance of agricultural development, Mr Jansen said he feared far more the threat of widespread famine in the 80s than the consequence of internal upheavals and wars in Africa.

He said South Africa was the continent's largest food exporter, but indications were that, by the year 2000, the country would consume its own production.

"The solution is in your hands and you cannot afford to delay action on a massive scale," the Minister told the

assembly.

He said stability and employment went practically hand in hand and the unemployment problem still caused grave concern to both economists and politicians.

Mr Jansen said it would be invaluable for KwaZulu to undertake mining activities and urged that the exploration of coal deposits and other minerals be pursued. KwaZulu might also be the pioneer in ethanol production, he said.

Referring to the "burning issue" of consolidation, the Minister said the Van der Walt Commission was still preparing its report and it was hoped a solution would result which was acceptable to all concerned.

He said the Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Piet Koornhof, was also giving serious attention to amendments, suggested by a special KwaZulu committee, to the law governing the administration and control of townships.

Mr Jansen said the large scale of education being undertaken in KwaZulu was striking, with more than 80 000 pupils and 16 000 teachers at 2 226 schools. But he noted that one of the greatest problems was a shortage of qualified teachers. - Sapa

## CISKEI OPPOSITION LEADER JOINS RULING PARTY

Johannesburg, RAND DAILY MAIL in English 8 Apr 80 p 4

[Text]

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN. — The Ciskei has effectively become a one-party state.

The Leader of the Opposition — and the homeland's first Prime Minister — Chief Justice Mahabula, yesterday pledged his support and loyalty to the ruling Ciskei National Independence Party.

Chief Mahabula's move came at the CNIP congress at Ntada Kandoda, about 40km north-east of King William's Town. Some of his supporters also joined the CNIP.

Chief Mahabula's crossing of the floor has left the Ciskei Assembly without an opposition party.

Meanwhile the Chief Minister, Chief Lennox Sebe, told the congress the South African Government had to fulfil all the Ciskei's demands before the homeland could achieve independence.

He said the South African Government had sent him a telex message saying it had noted the demands and would do everything in its power to have those demands met.

However, the two crucial issues, land and citizenship, could not be dealt with at present.

According to the message, the South African Government could not discuss them in detail until the commissions of inquiry into these issues had tabled their findings.

Only then could independence talks reopen, Chief Sebe said.

He gave the South African Government until December 31 next year to purchase and transfer to the Ciskei 300 000ha of land which was part of the 1975 land consolidation proposals.

Chief Sebe said the gaining of political independence was not the end of the struggle.

Ciskei had not achieved economic viability and did not generate sufficient revenue to balance a budget.

In the face of all these constraints, could we possibly contemplate following in the footsteps of Transkei, Bophuthatswana and Venda to independence which leads us down a one-way road to oblivion and economic suicide?

He said the Quail Commission had strongly advised the Ciskei against the type of independence taken by these three South African black states.

The congress unanimously accepted a motion calling on the Ciskeian Government to terminate immediately the services of two white civil servants for allegedly "ousting Ciskeians with contempt".

They are Dr J M Klopper, Secretary for Health, and an administrative assistant identified only as Mr Van Chaus.

● Chief Sebe also told the congress that R46 964 had disappeared from the CNIP's coffers between April 1977 and February last year, and this money was still unaccounted for — Sapa.

AZAPO BRANCH REAFFIRMS NKONDO DISMISSAL DECISION

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 14 Apr 80 p 2

[Text]

THE Soweto branch of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) yesterday endorsed its national council's decision in January to suspend national president, Mr Curtis Nkondo.

The report-back meeting was held at the Swiss Mission Church in Chiawelo.

Mr Nkondo was suspended by council in Hammanskraal, four months after his unanimous election as president, for violating its policy and principles and for not respecting protocol.

The shock suspension caused an outcry from leading black consciousness organisations, which had working relations with Azapo, and led to intensive behind-closed-doors meetings and the demand by several organisations for the immediate and unconditional reinstatement of Mr Nkondo.

Some of the alleged "violations" included:

- Violating a resolution he had initiated at an Azapo congress to the effect that statements should only be made to members of the Writers' Association of South Africa (Wasa) — which represents most black journalists;

- Meeting a visiting US Senator when Azapo policy was not to talk to officials of the "Western Five" countries because of their involvement in Africa;

- Making statements without reference to at least one other executive member.

The council report by Mr Popo Molefe, chairman, was adopted and the branch supported the decision to suspend Mr Nkondo as legitimate and constitutional.

The meeting also supported council decision that the national congress be held in September as scheduled, and not be brought forward, as had been proposed in certain quarters.

REPORTAGE, COMMENT ON LABOR DEVELOPMENTS

Trade Unions Registration

Johannesburg **RAND DAILY MAIL** in English 17 Apr 80 p 3

[Article by Steven Friedman]

[Text]

TRADE unions which applied for registration under the new labour laws were accepting segregation, the Food and Canning Workers' Union said in a statement yesterday.

The union was reacting to a statement at the weekend by the East London branch of the African Food and Canning Workers' Union, which has close links with it.

About 800 East London food workers were reported to have rejected union registration at a weekend meeting.

The reasons given at the East London meeting were that registration was meaningless until the pass laws, Group Areas Act and other legislation seen as discriminatory was removed.

In its statement yesterday, Food and Canning emphasised that the East London meeting reflected the views of the Afri-

can union's East London branch only.

But it added that the union had "already stated our opposition to African union registration under the Industrial Conciliation Amendment Act".

It had done so because "at present the law only allows registration as a non-racial union by the grace of the Minister of Manpower Utilisation, and only where there are not sufficient workers to form a separate union."

"This is clearly not the case in the food and canning industry or any other where large numbers of coloured and African workers are employed."

According to the statement, "unions which register can only do so 'by accepting segregation or by registering only in areas where there are hardly any workers of a particular race group."

"Either way, such registration means the creation of weak and divided unions," it said.

A union spokesman added that the union was also concerned "about the increased state control in the new legislation."

The union's comments are seen as a reference to the Federation of South African Trade Unions, whose unions have applied for registration.

The statement by East London workers was signed by Mr Samuel Kikine, general secretary of the SA Allied Workers' Union, who has been attempting to form a new trade union federation. Observers speculated that links between the union and Sazwu could be in the offing.

But a union spokesman said yesterday that Mr Kikine had attended the meeting as a guest. There were no formal links between the two unions, he said.



## Black Builders Exemption

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 12 Apr 80 p 1

[Editorial: "Barriers to Change"]

[Text]

**T**HE exemptions announced this week to allow black building workers to do skilled work in "white" areas are an illustration of how the Government hopes to introduce change through economic expansion — and also of the limitations on that policy.

It is clear that Mr P W Botha, having got bogged down by verkramppte resistance on the political front, has decided to leave that till later and lead off instead on the economic front.

His strategy, epitomised by the Budget, is to stimulate growth which will increase the need for skilled manpower, which in turn will force down racial barriers and lead to increased economic integration.

In time this will create a *de facto* socio-economic situation, to which the political system will then have to adjust.

The lifting of barriers on black building workers is the first example since the Budget of this strategy at work.

The Minister of Labour, Mr Fanie Botha, stressed in his announcement that it was the economic upswing which made the exemptions necessary. The increased growth rate, he said, meant "the shortage of artisans is becoming so acute that certain building projects are in serious jeopardy".

But if this move showed the strategy at work, it also showed up its limitations. Because the process is already running into difficulties.

The trouble is that there are so many institutionalised layers to the apartheid system that as soon as one gets through one barrier one crashes into the next. And since most of the barriers are entrenched in the legal system, they can only be removed by political action. A Catch 22 situation.

In this instance the process has run immediately into the barrier of white trade union resistance — and the fact that these unions can use their position on the building industry's industrial council to block or control black advancement.

They can also refuse to train black apprentices.

Secondary barriers are beginning to appear elsewhere in industry too. The Government wants to increase technical training for blacks: but the apartheid system prevents their admission to the technical colleges. They must go to separate institutions, which means they will get a separate training — which inevitably will mean a two-tier system of first and second-class artisans.

There are enormous dangers of frustration and anger in such anomalies, as people have their expectations raised only to be blocked again.

In the end Mr Botha will simply have to face the fact that change must come on the political front too.

## MAIZE SURPLUS SHOULD BE MAINTAINED AS POLITICAL LEVER

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 7 Apr 80 p 4

[Text]

SOUTH Africa will have to export a massive mealie surplus of more than 3 500 000 tons this year — at a possible loss of more than R150-million, according to economic authorities.

However, they point out that there are a number of vital reasons why South Africa cannot afford to risk producing only enough for its own needs. One is the strategic importance of "mealie diplomacy" in a hungry Southern Africa.

Mr Deon Fourie, senior lecturer in strategic studies at the University of South Africa, said the country's food surpluses had a strong potential political and strategic value.

"Food surpluses can be used as a political lever, or as a means to buy the goodwill of countries unable to feed their own populations."

The chairman of the commission which reported recently on the financial plight of farmers, Dr A S Jacobs, said there were good reasons why South Africa should continue to cultivate maize on the present scale.

The most compelling, perhaps, was the extremely variable climate, which could affect crops by up to 40%.

With its fast-expanding population — especially in the lower income groups — South Africa could not afford to limit maize cultivation to an area which, under favourable conditions, would yield only sufficient to meet domestic needs.

The risk of a serious shortage — which could mean having to import maize at inflated prices — was too great.

Dr Jacobs, general manager of the South African Reserve Bank, said the problem of what to do with land where maize had traditionally been grown was another factor. In most of these areas, there was no viable alternative crop.

He pointed out, too, that maize yields in South Africa, even in what could be considered a normal season, were low. In the United States, yields averaged 11 tons a hectare, in South Africa about 2½ tons.

Dr Jacobs said two other important factors were the foreign exchange earned by maize exports, and the strategic importance of being able to export to supplement inadequate production in other Southern African states.

## SCHWARZ CHARGES LACK OF LONG-TERM ECONOMIC POLICY

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 15 Apr 80 p 7

[Text]

**THE ASSEMBLY —** The Opposition's chief spokesman on Finance, Mr Harry Schwarz, yesterday launched a scathing attack on the Government's total strategy.

He hit out at its "complete inadequacy" in the field of pressing social issues in respect of the country's underprivileged.

Introducing the week-long debate on the Budget — one of the major Assembly debates — Mr Schwarz called for the creation of an all-race, all-party economic commission to seek solutions to the country's economic problems.

He said that economic growth as such was not as important as economic growth in the right sectors.

The greatest omissions in the Budget were:

- A plan for the future.

- The foundations for an economic order which could satisfy aspirations.

- The indication of a true concern for the underprivileged.

The real issue was not prosperity for some today, but security for all tomorrow, he said.

**EQUITABLE**

"We require of a budget that it should be equitable in its application to all South Africans," he said.

"We are repeatedly told of the total strategy. But where is that strategy?"

"We have no overall economic plan, no stated objectives in regard to wealth and income gaps, quality of life or equality of opportunity.

"It's a hotch potch of ad hoc decisions, pious sentiments and of endeavours to satisfy reactionary demands.

"The 1980s sees South Africa on the edge of a volcano, and the much vaunted total strategy is an empty sounding drum," Mr Schwarz said.

Calling for an ongoing economic commission, Mr Schwarz said that such a body could concentrate its efforts — free from political shackles — on eliminating poverty and creating incentive and opportunity for all the people of South Africa.

"It could tackle the problems of rural poverty

and the creation of small local labour-intensive industries.

"It could evolve a real means of bringing the black man into the entrepreneurial side of the free enterprise system," Mr Schwarz said.

"If survival is an issue for all, then the best brains representative of all South Africans should participate in its solution, regardless of politics or colour," he said.

Mr Schwarz said that the wealth gaps which existed in South Africa could only be bridged if the State was prepared to take fundamental action in vital spheres.

Epithets of socialists or welfare states were irrelevant, he said.

"What is the issue is whether people are going to help preserve a society that cares for them," he said.

Mr Bill Sutton (NRP, Mooi River) said he agreed with the Minister of Finance, Senator Horwood, that the best way of benefiting the poor was by creating work through economic growth.

## BRIEFS

**BLACK CHURCH SUPPORTS GOVERNMENT**--In a startling move at the weekend, one of South Africa's most influential Black church leaders, Bishop Barnabas Ramarumo Lekganyane, of the powerful Zion Christian Church (ZCC) called upon his over 2,5-million followers to respect and submit themselves to the apartheid laws of South Africa. Addressing a huge Easter crowd at the ZCC Moria City headquarters, at a ceremony which marked the church's 70th anniversary, the 29-year old bishop urged his 2,5 million followers to accept the Nationalist Party homeland policy. He said that his followers must be taught to "respect" chiefs, homeland leaders and the South African Government. However, this move has met with strong reactions from various clergymen and priests throughout the country. A leading member of the Black Priests Solidarity group and former rector of the St Peters Seminary in Hammanskraal, Father Lebamang Sebidi, said that the ZCC had every right to believe whatever they wished to believe religiously and to act out their beliefs in whichever way they wished. "But I would be less than honest if I did not say the following: The ZCC church and its adherents are not particularly known for their religious and political sophistication; It was therefore a shameful thing for Dr Koornhof and his henchmen to have taken advantage of these unaware masses and used them to score political points in favour of the homeland and apartheid policy. [Excerpts] [Johannesburg THE VOICE in English 15 Apr 80 pp 1, 3]

**FIRST SOWETO BLACK SUPERMARKET**--Soweto's first supermarket financed and owned by blacks opened its doors today. The complex in Diepkloof township was financed by Blackchain, a subsidiary of the National African Federated Chamber of Commerce. The managing director of Blackchain, Mr H.S. Majola, said the supermarket was a breakthrough for black businessmen. The complex includes the supermarket, a cash and carry, specialty stores and medical offices. [Text] [Johannesburg THE STAR in English 10 Apr 80 p 9]

**NO DEFENSE WHITE PAPER**--Attention would be given to the recommendations of the Steyn Commission during discussions on his Budget Vote next week, the Prime Minister, Mr P.W. Botha, said in the House of Assembly yesterday. In reply to another question by Mr Schwarz, the Prime Minister said no White Paper on defence matters would be published during the present session. Although such a White Paper was only published once every two years, it remained the prerogative of the Prime Minister to decide when it would be published. [Excerpts] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 24 Apr 80 p 8]

# UNU: IDI AMIN, MILTON OBOTE SHOULD BE TRIED

Nairobi SUNDAY NATION in English 13 Apr 80 p 5

[Text] **A UGANDAN political party has called for the formation of a Constitutional Committee to determine the best procedures of bringing former Presidents Milton Obote and Idi Amin to trial.**

The committee, says Lamech B. Ntambi, Secretary-General of the Uganda National Union, will also work out details of the country's elections scheduled for this year.

Mr. Obote, who lives in exile in Tanzania and who has said he will seek a political office during the elections was Uganda's first president. He was ousted by Idi Amin in a military coup. Amin was ousted early last year by a force of Ugandan exiles and Tanzanian troops.

"The committee would be expected to determine the best procedures to bring before the court of law, both Idi Amin and Milton Obote for the damages each caused the country," Mr. Ntambi says.

But that would only be one task for the committee. Mr. Ntambi says his party has appealed to the Binaisa government to have the committee also working out details for the impending elections.

"Only the Constitutional Committee will ensure that necessary details are worked out prior to the proposed elections. Only through this system shall we achieve fair

and free national elections", said Mr. Ntambi.

Reacting to last week's SUNDAY NATION interview with Prof. Yusuf Lule, Mr. Ntambi objected to Prof. Lule's remarks that UNU was advocating for violence.

"UNU does not advocate for violence. We stand for a peaceful struggle to free our country. We are going to make sure that we use only peaceful methods to ensure democracy in Uganda", he explained.

In the interview with the SUNDAY NATION, Prof. Lule disassociated himself with claims attributed to Mr. Ntambi that "violence" would have to be used to "disrupt" the forthcoming national elections, should the Binaisa government fail to resign at least six months before the elections.

To this Prof. Lule pointed out, "I do not share views attributed to Mr. Ntambi that the proposed elections should be disrupted if certain conditions are not met."

Appreciating the fact that he enjoyed the support of the members of the UNU, Prof. Lule however last week made it clear that he disagreed with views attributed to Mr. Ntambi urging violence. "I do not believe in violence myself."

But reacting to Prof. Lule's stand, Mr. Ntambi, further made it clear that UNU "does not believe in violence either. Anybody labelling UNU of involvement in violence of any type is misinformed."

Asked to deny or confirm the fact that most UNU supporters backed Prof. Lule, Mr. Ntambi explained: "We represent the interests of all Ugandans who did not attend the Moshi conference. In other words we speak for the majority of Ugandans who have not gone into exile. They are the people being killed most in

Uganda today."

"The only common thing between us and Prof. Lule is that perhaps he is the only person who tended to stick to the terms and reference agreed upon at the Moshi conference. But we do not owe our allegiance to individuals as such. Our main interest is to speak for the majority of Ugandans who never went into exile. They are the ones today being killed inside Uganda."

Calling for the formation of a "Constitutional Committee" to digest certain issues facing the country before the impending elections, Mr. Ntambi observed, "otherwise we may rush the elections whose results will take us back exactly to 1966."

The "Constitutional Committee", he further explained would comprise the following:

One member of the public from each of the 32 districts. Two experts in constitutional matters (these could be borrowed from friendly countries such as Britain, the United States or Sweden). Two members from the UNCC government and five legal experts from home and abroad.

Mr. Ntambi said the "Constitutional Committee" would iron out "confusion" reigning in Uganda as to what form of the future government would take to, and also what system such a government would use.

The "Committee" would also decide divisions of constituencies in Uganda. It would also decide whether "we should make amendments in both the 1962 and 1967 Constitutions, and pick out which one to be utilised."

It would also be the work of the "Committee" to fix the proper election date and advise the security on the proper methods to be used during the elections.

COUNTRY'S ECONOMIC RECOVERY PROBLEMS DETAILED

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 8 Apr 80 p 23

[First installment of three part article: "Uganda's Long, Slow Recovery"]

[Text] What Idi Amin did to Uganda in his eight years of made rule cannot be undone overnight. Uganda's new rulers still face massive problems. In this, the first of a three part series on Uganda today, special correspondent Fred Bridgland reports from Kampala.

It is difficult to suppress a smile at the sight of the old African peasant outside Entebbe airport shuffling along in laceless boots twice the size of his feet.

You soon learn, however, that boots are no laughing matter in Uganda.

A queue 100 m long outside a Bata shoe shop in Kampala's main street tells why. The shoppers are competing to buy a pair of leather shoes at the going price of 4,000 Ugandan shillings (R300).

It is unclear who can afford these shoes, but then it is not obvious who can afford anything in modern Uganda. Inflation is running at about 400 percent. Prices are absurd.

My Ugandan hosts buy a chicken at 220 Ugandan shillings (R22) to honour me. I protest only mildly at their extravagance, for hospitality is an African obligation and one needs to be sensitive to this.

Taxis in Kampala cost a minimum of 100 shillings (R10) a ride, so a lot of what Ugandans call "footing" is required. This is the best way to see a city, but here it takes time and patience because Kampala is spread over seven widely spaced hills.

How people survive is a mystery. The staple diet around Kampala is matoke (green banana), which is boiled until it resembles mashed potatoes. A bunch costs 200 shillings (R22), enough to feed a two-child family for about two days. But unskilled workers earn only 240 shillings (R25) a month.



The laws of supply and demand are operating ruthlessly. Supplies of everything are scarce, demand is heavy, and consequently prices are out of control, despite feeble attempts by the Government to contain the costs to the consumer of essential goods.

Nearly a year after the toppling of Idi Amin, Uganda's capital is still a scene of devastation.

To escape the cycle everyone engages in magendo (black market). At the most sophisticated level this involves exploiting the ludicrously high official valuation of the Ugandan shilling. This is officially on par with the Kenyan shilling but on the black market one Kenya shilling can fetch between 10 and 13 Ugandan shillings.

Tyres and spares continue to be scarce. A new truck tyre, for example, is selling at more than 10,000 shillings (R1 000). The transporter makes heavy charges because his services are in heavy demand and costs are high.

The villager growing matoke has to pay 1 000 shillings (R100) for a new shirt. He therefore sells his banana bunch to the middle man at 100 shillings (R10).

It's a vicious economic cycle which applies to every product and commodity.

A post office electrician explains how magendo works on a small scale: "If a man working for a government department is sent out to fit 10 light-bulbs, he feels why should I not sell six of them for myself?

"People are not asking what can I do for the country, but what can I do to profit myself?"

The first form of magendo is the continuing robbery with violence. There are tens of thousands of modern weapons in the hands of civilians following the looting of Amin's well-stocked armouries.

The violence has subsided from a peak in the middle of last year when, according to one foreign aid official, "this place was like Dodge City." But cars are still "liberated" at gunpoint, houses are looted and on occasions the owners are killed. My host shows me the spot where the bullet-riddled body of Uganda's top TV announcer was dumped after thieves stole his car.

A curfew is in force between 10 pm and 6 am so when you go out for dinner you stay till morning. I dine with British friends at Port Bell, 15 km from Kampala on the shores of Lake Victoria. They keep an automatic rifle and gas grenades in their bedroom in case of attack by looters. They have not used the weapons so far, but they advise that in the event of commotion during the night that I keep calm and retreat under my bed.

This sounds unduly melodramatic, but the director of CARE, a private American aid organisation, describes to me how looters shot dead his Ugandan neighbours, including two children, and how he watched them retreat with their booty across his own garden. "At the time all I was worried about was that they wouldn't come for me next."

Mulago Hospital, Kampala, was the stage for some of the most horrific events of Field Marshall Idi Amin's cruel eight-year reign over Uganda.

Sadly, now that Amin has gone, the hospital remains a symbol of all the problems of the new Uganda. Nearly one year after Kampala was liberated by Tanzanian soldiers, Mulago, the country's only teaching hospital, has no water. The stench from the toilets and bathrooms is appalling and the risks of an epidemic must be great.

Blood cannot be stored because of the breakdown of cold rooms. Many people either cannot be given surgery or die on the operating table if they bleed profusely.

Hundreds of doctors fled abroad or were killed during the Amin years, and more than half of Mulago's posts are vacant. Two months ago a fatal car crash robbed the hospital, and the country, of its sole surviving orthopaedic surgeon. There are no Ugandan anaesthetists, though a Canadian doctor has arrived to help. He is training secondary school workers to do work which elsewhere is the responsibility of qualified doctors.

Recently the Canadian had to attend to business outside the hospital; during his short absence three people died on operating tables because of mistakes by paramedical anaesthetists.

The catalogue of disasters is almost endless. There are few mattresses and little bed linen; these and many other items disappeared in three waves of looting last year, first by Amin's retreating soldiers, then by Tanzanian troops and finally by the people of Kampala.

Civil administration virtually collapsed under Amin, and at Mulago, as in countless other areas of Uganda's life, it has still not recovered.

Corruption is rife. A health educationist complained he was unable to care adequately for malnourished infants because only half of the 40 litres of milk allocated to the children's wards each day actually arrives: the rest is skimmed off by officials, delivery men and kitchen staff.

When Amin expelled the Asians in 1972 the country lost its technician class. Machinery gradually stopped working, and at Mulago sophisticated surgical equipment, sterilisers and boilers have now collapsed beyond repair.

The expulsion of the Asians was probably the biggest single factor in bringing about the country's economic collapse. To see Uganda now is to see a

country which 10 years ago fell down a big dark hole from which it is still struggling to escape.

"The damage was not done by last year's war, but by the pernicious anaemia of 10 years of mismanagement which beggars belief," said one diplomat.

The country is literally a graveyard of hundreds of millions of rands worth of transport and industrial machinery of all kinds.

Outside Jinja, where the White Nile leaves Lake Victoria, stretches of great sugar estates once owned by the multimillionaire Madhvanis, an Asian family.

The estates were nationalised in 1972 after the Madhvanis fled with others of their race. Now the plantations are overgrown, the sugar factory at the heart of the company township has closed, the internal railway system has been ripped up and in the maintenance yard hundreds of lorries, pick-ups, tractors and forklift trucks lie useless and beyond repair because there were no technicians to maintain them.

The tea and sugar estates of another Asian family, the Mehtas, which cover rolling hills around Lugazi, between Jinja and Kampala, have collapsed in similar fashion.

Building an economy from scratch would be a daunting task for any government, and Uganda's rulers can be excused if the process of reconstruction is slow, especially as the country's administrative structures (and consequently the ability to make rational decisions) were destroyed by Amin.

However, a report prepared in June last year by the Commonwealth Secretariat for the Ugandan Government said: "The failure of the new Government visibly to be achieving quick rehabilitation could generate disaffection. There is no time to be lost if Uganda is to avoid sliding back into the economic and political turmoil from which it has so recently emerged."

The report added that frustrations and sacrifices could be borne if people "sense the rhythms of recovery."

But it is difficult for a visitor to feel such rhythms; this may be due to unrealistically high expectations or lack of perception, but then it is hard also to find any Ugandan who has sensed the beat of reconstruction.

An agricultural research scientist said: "We want to see something positive happening--roads being built, water being supplied, essential commodities filling the shops--but there is nothing."

That is not altogether true. Search hard and you find little nodules of reconstruction. CARE (Cooperative for American Relief Everywhere) is the only international aid organisation to have begun effective programmes to help rebuild Uganda's shattered institutions.

The projects are small, but they are producing concrete, visible results. CARE began by repairing primary schools damaged by shelling during the liberation war. It expanded its programme when it became clear that there were hundreds of other schools that had no roofs, walls or doors because construction stopped from about 1973 onwards.

"Amin was buying guns instead of butter and no construction materials came into the country," said Joe Wambach, the young American field director of CARE-Uganda. "There was no cement, nails or iron sheet."

CARE has agreed to spend R8-million on repairing or completing primary schools. Local communities must match every dollar (seven Ugandan shillings) that CARE puts up, making the projects genuine self-help affairs.

Britain is making its own small but visible contribution to reconstruction. More and more policemen are appearing in vivid blue uniforms donated by British taxpayers. This apparently strange gift is useful because many of the previous khaki police uniforms were looted during the liberation or were taken by fleeing police implicated in Amin's misdeeds.

In view of the countless murders and robberies being committed in and around Kampala and other towns by men in various uniforms, it was considered prudent to change the official dress.

Ugandan police are also being trained in Britain as staff instructors; they will, in turn, train recruits at the Uganda Police College to boost the force from its present level of 4 000 to an approved strength of 20 000.

Next year Britain will donate 100 Leyland lorries and ginnery machinery to help put the cotton industry back on its feet. Annual cotton production has fallen to 10 000 tonnes from 80 000 tonnes 10 years ago.

[Photo caption] The only water borehole drill in the drought and famine-stricken territory of Karamoja in Northeast Uganda. Because of the severe shortages of spare parts in Uganda, the wheels have been stripped from the mechanical drill for use on a Government vehicle, rendering the drill useless.

CSO: 4420

## YOUNG TSHOMBE--CHIP OFF THE OLD BLOCK

Paris DEMAIN L'AFRIQUE in French 24 Mar 80 p 27

[Text] Mbuji-Mayi, February. When you mention the name of Jean Tshombe to President Mobutu Sese Seko, he comments ironically: "He is only his father's son!"--meaning: he is not a man to be taken seriously. Not seriously? One might thus ask why the Zairian chief of state received Mr Tshombe on 21 January in his residence at Camp Tshatshi, after having sent him to Brussels on several occasions as emissary.

In August 1979, Jean Tshombe went to Jerusalem secretly, accompanied by two officers of the "former Katanga gendarmes." There he met Ezer Weizman, the restless Israeli deputy. Sharon, as we recall, at the time had offered a big reward for the assassination of Idi Amin Dada. Contacts had been established, it seems, in March 1979 with the "former Katanga gendarmes," sent via Luanda to join the Tanzanian expeditionary corps on the eve of the final assault against the regime of the Ugandan dictator.

But we must not only speak of the ousted tyrant who, by the way, cannot be found anywhere. As a matter of fact, several days after this interview, which took place in utmost secrecy, the correspondent of LIBRE BELGIQUE at Jerusalem revealed, on the basis of information received through deputy Sharon himself, the existence of an agreement aimed at the "destabilization" of the Zairian regime. The only conditions established by the Israeli deputy--in whose case one must ask oneself whether he was acting for himself or for the government of Mr Menachem Begin, the prime minister of the Hebrew State--was this: the unification of the pro-Western Zairian opposition and a commitment to restore diplomatic relations with Tel-Aviv and to let Israeli companies carry out agricultural development projects.

Emotions ran high at Kinshasa where people are not unaware of the fact that the Tshombe myth is deeply rooted among the "former Katanga gendarmes." The fact that "Tshombe's son" was again talking to the former gendarmes, with whom he had broken in January 1977 shortly before the first war in Shaba, managed to intrigue the Zairian regime.



It seems nevertheless that two other recent events made Jean Tshombe "very interesting" in Kinshasa's eyes: his position as the national secretary of the OLC (Congo Liberation Organization), established in Brussels in November 1978 by Mr Mbeka Makosso, Zaire's former ambassador to Tehran, and his title as "family head" (Tshombe, naturally). Thus Kinshasa's emissaries dangled before him the prospects of reforms aimed at a liberalization of the regime, compensation for the confiscation of his father's property after he was sentenced to death in 1967, and possibly the solution of the illegal mess surrounding Moïse Tshombe's foreign holdings as well as a settlement of the rights to his succession.

But he arrived in Kinshasa on 17 January. The Zairian chief of state received him 4 days later at his home in Camp Tshatahi. During that meeting, it was suggested to him that he return to the country, with his family, along with a guarantee of getting sufficient financial support for a decent way of life. President Mobutu furthermore confided to him his intention of establishing a climate propitious for national concord. He revealed to him the broad outlines of his important speech on 4 February.

There was a big show indeed on 4 February! Not content with calling the National Assembly to order after a strong display of power, the Zairian chief of state scotched all rumours as to the establishment of a multi-party system in the country.

It seems clear today that Mr Jean Tshombe, who told all about his meeting with Mobutu to the Belgian newspaper LA LIBRE BELGIQUE, on 2 February, following his trip to Kinshasa, was "trapped" by Mr Sakombi Inongo, former information minister and recently returned to his position as secretary-general of the Party Youth.

5058

CSO: 4400



## FIRST STATE COMMISSIONER ON MONEY SITUATION

Kinshasa ELIMA in French 29 Feb 80 p 7

[Text] Here is the speech by the first commissioner of state which we were unable to publish in its entirety in yesterday's edition; the speech was broadcast over the radio and also televised.

Concerning the economic operators who must return to Zaire the foreign exchange obtained following the sale of coffee abroad, the first commissioner of state said that the problem of returning foreign exchange does not come up in connection with exporters who go through the Bank of Zaire. The problem does come up for the swindlers who go through Kisangani, Goma, and Matadi. Citizen Bo-Boliko indicated that the OZACAF [Zairian Coffee Office] is keeping a record of these operators in order to force them to return this foreign exchange.

Concerning the statute for civil servants--and a possible pay increase--the speaker replied that the statute which has just been approved does not include a new pay scale; such a pay scale has been applied since 1979, prior to the adoption of the statute by the Legislative Council. The executive branch coordinator stressed the fact that the law on the new income tax scale is more advantageous for salaried employees than, for example, a 10-percent pay increase. He declared that the most beneficial action of the Executive Council to help the workers is represented by the fight against price rises because wage hikes do not give the workers anything if they are accompanied by a rising cost of living. With the help of this law, the Executive Council increased the real wages of the workers in spite of the problem which this step poses for the government in terms of balancing the budget.

Hinting at the threat of massive worker layoffs, as raised by private enterprises, Citizen Bo-Boliko reiterated the Executive Council's opposition to this step as a solution aimed at recovery; while recognizing the difficulties facing enterprises forced to operate below capacity because of the economic downturn, he recommended certain improvements in order to prevent an increase in unemployment.

Regarding the fight against price rises, Citizen Bo-Boliko blamed certain executive and management personnel for the price surge resulting from their systematic sabotage effort when it comes to implementing the directives of the Executive Council to this subject during this period of crisis; he reaffirmed the idea that the government will continue to impose its authority so that what little the country produces or imports will be equitably distributed and, moreover, at official prices; the Executive Council will make every effort to see that this will be done properly, the first commissioner of state announced.

With the same purpose in mind, a list of taxes currently in print will be accessible to everybody and no tax may be demanded of taxpayers in the absence of this document.

As for the increase in the rates of services rendered to the population by certain government enterprises, such as REGIDESO (water and power distribution administration), SNEL, etc., Citizen Bo-Boliko explained that the government--which no longer has the huge funds it had in the past--is facing an alternative: either it cuts the subsidies and these enterprises cease to function or it must ask the citizens to pay more for the services rendered.

Finally, concerning the multiparty system, which has been the subject of so much speculation, abroad, on the eve of the presidential address of 4 February, the first commissioner of state replied that Zaire, being a young nation, called upon to build itself up, needs a combined effort from everybody.

"We must create a framework within which we can move," declared Citizen Bo-Boliko, noting that "the MPR [Popular Movement of the Revolution] constitutes the ideal framework."

Referring to history, the speaker revealed that, even in countries in Western Europe, the time after the big wars found all parties uniting within a government of national unity in order to rebuild the country. On the other hand, he raised the question as to whether Zaire has an administrative infrastructure capable of sustaining the weight of several parties, as is the case in Europe. He did not fail to emphasize that, since he was a member of parliament during various legislative sessions in the First Republic and the new regime, he can appreciate the benefits which Zaire derives from its position as a country with a national party, that is, "the MPR."

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## DETERMINED TO WIN BATTLE FOR OIL

Kinshasa ELIMA in French 1-2 Mar 80 pp 1, 7

[Text] "We must win the petroleum battle and we must succeed with our energy program so that Zaire, in the year 2000, may really look like a 20th-century country and so that the historians of tomorrow may associate the name of General Mobutu not only with the construction of a great nation, aware of its identity, but also with the generalized electrification of Zaire and, based on that, the industrial revolution," Commissioner of State for Energy, Citizen Mananga, declared on Thursday afternoon at N'Sele, in his closing address at the National Energy Conference held at N'Sele between 25 and 28 February.

"You are participating citizens, you are men of science and as such you must use your creative genius to the fullest extent instead of behaving like ivory-tower scientists." "The nation needs your talents in order properly to pursue the policy which it intends to implement," he continued, noting that the survival of a modern country is tied to its capacity to invent, to adapt, and to innovate. Citizen Mananga [as publisher] declared that resolutions that are adopted matter little. The thing that counts is the manner in which they are carried out, each in its own field.

The commissioner of state for energy had earlier paid tribute to the participants who were the architects of the success of this conference and he congratulated them on the maturity and seriousness which they displayed throughout their work here.

Did the N'Sele conference produce the anticipated results? Before answering this question in the affirmative, the speaker said that the scientists and specialists who met at N'Sele used their knowledge and knowhow in order to make available to us a broad range of concrete measures which will permit Zaire to make maximum and efficient use of its various and tremendous energy potentials and progressively reducing the petroleum bill.

He then said with justifiable pride and without fear of being contradicted that the national energy conference really laid the groundwork for what Zaire's policy will be tomorrow.

Recalling the objectives to be obtained, the commissioner of state mentioned the following: establishment of a National Energy Commission, supported by the Energy Security Fund;

Optimum use of renewable energy sources, such as water, wood, and the biomass;

Efficient utilization of nonrenewable energy sources, such as petroleum, oil shale, asphaltic sand, uranium, methane gas, and coal;

Massive electrification of urban centers at low cost;

Conversion of industrial equipment using petroleum products to hydroelectric energy;

Construction of hydroelectric micropower plants to meet the energy requirements of isolated industrial establishments.

He also welcomed the fact that the participants approved the idea of creating a National Energy Commission, supported by the Energy Security Fund.

"After this conference," he revealed, "the National Energy Commission will be established under the department and will be approved by a presidential ordinance. Its essential mission will be to draft the broad outlines for Zaire's energy policy whose implementation will have to be guaranteed by the Department of Mines. It will have to do everything possible to make sure that the output, sale, and use of energy will be efficient. It will be necessary to survey the whole country in order to detect bottlenecks so as to achieve the desired development and so that, as a general rule, industry may get the proper impetus in order actively to pursue the policy of investment and to increase the sales possibilities in the petroleum sector."

"However," he added, "I must denounce the attitude to the effect that the resolutions adopted are never applied and remain a dead letter." He then urged the participants to have faith, each in his own field, regarding the final resolutions which were adopted and to become the apostles who will spread the results they authored so that the country may win the oil battle or at least balance the oil situation.

Earlier, the deputy director of the Office of the President-Founder, Citizen Samba, warmly congratulated the participants on the important work they accomplished and on their strong determination to contribute to solving the country's energy problems.

He also expressed the hope that, on leaving this forum, they would continue their research with the same impetus in order to pursue the problems examined in depth.

At the end of the meeting, the conference participants also adopted a motion of support addressed to the President-Founder of the MPR [Popular Movement of the Revolution], the President of the Republic.

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FUTURE OF NATION'S EXPORTS DISCUSSED

Kinshasa ELIMA in French 2-3 Mar 80 pp 1, 9

[Article by Essolomwa Nkoy as Linganga: [title illegible in photostat]]

[Text] During its meeting on 22 February, under the chairmanship of the chief of state, the Executive Council announced, among other decisions, the decision pertaining to the adjustment of Zaire currency whose parity henceforth will be set at 1 zaire for 0.2625 SDR.

After hailing the success experienced during the various phases already accomplished as part of the country's march toward a complete reorganization of the government machinery and the recovery of public finances, the Executive Council underscored the need for carrying out this adjustment.

The Executive Council as a matter of fact first of all noted the remarkable success achieved especially in the absorption of the excess liquidity of the economy and the reduction of the gap between the Zaire currency quotations on the official market and on the parallel market. It then disclosed the difficulties which seem to continue to exist in terms of channeling all of the existing resources toward the production sectors.

In view of the urgent need for resolving these difficulties which, according to the Council's spokesman, are having an unfavorable effect on government revenues and entail the risk of bringing about permanent economic instability, the government decided to take the bull by the horns. This explains the readjustment of 22 February which sprang from a set of organizational steps designed to permit the people effectively to back up the effort of the Executive Council in implementing the stabilization program.

As if to underline the determination of the government authorities to carry out this program in the shortest possible time, the First Commissioner of State, Citizen Bo-Boliko Lokonga on Tuesday night at length covered this issue in the course of a big session with the press and with the people which was broadcast on radio and also televised.



The First Commissioner of State, who in this fashion presented the Executive Council's action program for the current year, listed the requirements for the country's economic recovery as well as the crucial problems that worry the people now. He basically tackled the questions pertaining to the calling-in of the currency, the price rise, taxes and import duties, the revival of agriculture, etc.

Concerning agriculture, more particularly, it appeared--beyond the new indications given by Citizen Bo-Boliko--that the Executive Council is firmly determined to promote the country's exports and to revive agricultural production with a view to correcting the country's food shortage.

As a sign of the times, he was happy to note that, at a moment when the Executive Council is actively trying to revive exports, prices revealed an upward tendency on the international market.

There is a certain effervescence at the stock exchanges in New York, London, and Paris regarding raw material quotations. Coffee is going up, the price of sugar tripled in just 6 months and it is approaching its highest level since 1975; there is also a certain rise in cocoa prices. With the rise of tensions in Rhodesia on the occasion of the elections, there was also a considerable movement of copper. Securities are being traded on the stock exchange, along with shares, as well as loans and foreign exchange, through stockbrokers and traders.

A particularly favorable movement has been started regarding exports of agricultural and mining products.

In view of this outlook, there are naturally many questions which come to mind, both on the future of the country's exports and on the organization of the production sectors.

The first one is to find out whether the current agricultural season has been sufficiently organized so that the country may benefit greatly from this favorable situation.

The second question is tied to some degree of uncertainty as to the real mission assigned to the OZACAF (Zairian Coffee Office); it boils down to finding out the role of the coffee seller, buyer, and the bank handling the financing transactions since it is the OZACAF which regulates prices and controls sales of this product. This is happening precisely at a moment when the Bank of Zaire has just authorized the commercial banks to raise the agricultural loan ceiling. These loans by the way are now beginning to be distributed to the economic operators for their exports.

For several years now, everybody, including the OZACAF, has been interested only in selling coffee. Under these conditions, who is then to reorganize



and promote agriculture in the country at a moment when the currency adjustment calls for a profound revival of this sector with a view to providing fresh impetus to the country's exports and giving the farmers new incentives? That is the third question which must hold our attention.

Parallel to that, there is another, just as preoccupying question right now and that is the question as to whether, in their balance sheets, the companies that were unable to exchange their called-in notes will have to list them as profits or losses. The question is all the more pertinent since the deadline of 31 March--the date traditionally set for economic operators to file their balance sheets with the treasury--is close.

Beyond all of these questions and in view of the importance of coffee in the national economy, the big issue really is this: how can we rehabilitate this product which is a powerful ace in the country's economic recovery plan?

We will try to answer these questions in our open commentary whose publication we will start tomorrow. Let our readers thus be informed!

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## SIGNIFICANCE OF INGA DAM DISCUSSED

Paris DEMAIN L'AFRIQUE in French 25 Feb 80 p 55

[Text] The last world energy conference, organized by the UN 2 years ago, expressed regret that Africa's enormous hydroelectric potential is still unused. It is true that Africa contains only 20 percent of the world potential.

Combined with the output of electric power by the thermal power plants, this energy source offers solid, inexhaustible bases for development. The Zairians have understood this. One of Kinshasa's objectives is to get out from under dependence on capital goods coming from the industrialized countries. But even the boldest industrialization policy cannot work without constant energy supply. With its 30 million kilowatts, Inga is a powerful ace which Zaire has managed to play.

The construction of a dam at Inga was a challenge which the Belgian colonizers did not wish to accept, undoubtedly for political reasons, after a first survey of the site in 1887. As a matter of fact, it took until 1965 and the arrival of President Mobutu on the scene before action was taken since this dam was to be the regime's greatest achievement in the opinion of President Mobutu.

It was absolutely necessary to pick the Inga site. Among the big rivers, the Zaire river is the only one which, along its lower course, has a very considerable gradient; between Sikila island (upstream from the current installations at Inga) and the mouth of the Bundi, 15 kilometers away, there is a natural drop of 102 meters.

This series of rapids turns the Inga site into the most important reserve of water power concentrated at one and the same point.

The enormity of this potential could have been the biggest obstacle to the construction of the project if the site did not also have a topography which lends itself remarkably well to the progressive development of the equipment; the dry and natural valley of N'Kokolo, which runs along the river in this place from Sikila island all the way

to the Shongo rapids, made it possible to complete the first phase of Inga I, followed by Inga II.

The cornerstone for Inga I was laid in 1968. The construction of the first part of the project, started in 1972, required the derivation of a flow rate of 780 cubic meters per second. This water, conducted by a series of dikes and canals toward the Shongo-Inga I dam, was then returned to the river by means of an outlet canal 1,230 meters long and between 10.30 and 38 meters wide. To do that, it was necessary to dig an enormous excavation of 2 million cubic meters, to cart away as many cubic meters of rock, and to pour 250,000 cubic meters of concrete.

The dead-end valley of N'Kokolo was closed off by the Shongo dam which makes it possible, with a drop of 60 meters, to use a fraction of the flood-water flow rate taken from the river 8 kilometers upstream. The Inga I power plant is now in service and the Inga II power plant is under construction; it is possible now to continue along the same way by developing Inga III which will have a power plant (perhaps even two) capable of doubling the output of the first two power plants.

As things stand now, the Inga I power plant furnishes 350 Megawatts (installed power) and 300 Megawatts (guaranteed power), in other words, a total annual output of 2.4 billion kilowatt-hours. Inga II, which was scheduled to go into operation starting in 1977, will supply 1,300 Megawatts of installed power (1,100 Megawatts of guaranteed power), or an overall annual output of 9 billion kilowatt-hours. The energy will be generated by eight turbine groups. Inga III finally will make it possible to use the complete potential of the N'Kokolo valley.

It is evident that the Grand Inga project is in line with other objectives, other than those now in progress through the development of the N'Kokolo valley; the important thing is to satisfy the current and future Zairian industrial establishments which are heavy electric power consumers (isotope separation of uranium or, above all, production of electrolytic hydrogen, the fuel for tomorrow). And that applies not only to the Kinshasa region. The importance of Grand Inga concerns the electrification of the entire country, especially Shaba, toward which a very-high-tension power line is to be built; by the time it is finished, it will be 1,700 kilometers long. This also involves other African countries. The Congo, Uganda, Burundi, and Zambia import a considerable quantity of their electric power from Zaïre: "If we want to," President Mobutu recently told the 11th Special Session of the council of ministers of the OAU, "we could interconnect all of the African networks from the Cape to Algiers."

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## BRIEFS

POLISH PROFESSORS--As part of the university cooperation program between Zaire and Poland, 57 Polish professors are shortly expected in Zaire, according to an announcement from the Department of Higher Education and Scientific Research. The practical questions connected with the arrival of these professors, the same source indicated, were discussed last Saturday between Commissioner of State Djelo Empenge Osako and Mr Orlowski, vice-chancellor of the University of Warsaw, in the presence of the Polish ambassador in Zaire. On that occasion, Mr Orlowski extended to Citizen Kama, secretary of state for ESRS [Higher Education and Scientific Research], an invitation to visit the University of Warsaw in Poland.  
[Text] [Kinshasa ELIMA in French 29 Feb 80 pp 1, 8] 5058

YUGOSLAV DOCTORS--Thanks to the concern of the President-Founder of the MPR [Popular Movement of the Revolution], President of the Republic, Citizen Mobutu Sese Seko, five Yugoslav physicians, who arrived at Kinshasa on Wednesday, coming from Belgrade, to provide medical services for the office of the President of the Republic, will be assigned to the Mama Yemo hospital, it was learned from a reliable source. These doctors are specialists in various fields and are in Zaire as part of the program for bilateral cooperation between Zaire and Yugoslavia in the health field. The following doctors are involved: 1. Trajkovic, Peter, cardiologist; 2. Trajkovic, Ljiljana née Reljic, gynecologist; 3. Jablanovic, Dusan, radiologist; 4. Teodorovic, Dusan, biologist; 5. Tavcar, dentist.  
[Text] [Kinshasa ELIMA in French 1-2 Mar 80 p 7] 5058

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